

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

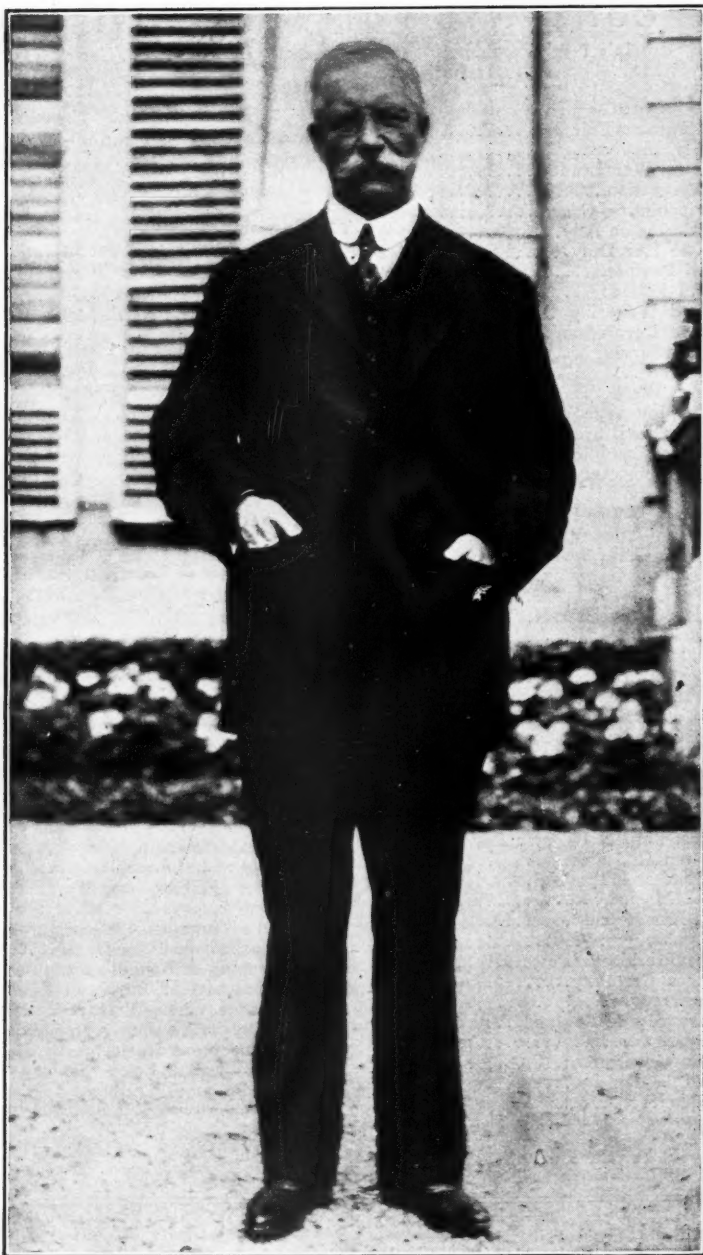
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TERMS:—Issued monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere, \$4.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second class matter under Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions. (Subscriptions to the English REVIEW OF REVIEWS, which is edited and published in London, may be sent to this office, and orders for single copies can also be filled, at the price of \$2.50 for the yearly subscription, including postage, or 25 cents for single copies.)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



PAUL MILYUKOFF, RUSSIA'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER

(Professor Milyukoff is perhaps more widely known outside of Russia than any other of the brilliant and capable men now guiding the affairs of the Russian Empire. He is a famous authority in European history and international relations, and has long been a fearless and eloquent advocate of representative government for his country. He is characterized in Mr. Levine's article, beginning on page 385)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LV

NEW YORK, APRIL, 1917

No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*An Historic
Turning
Point*

It may well appear, in the perspectives of history, that the most important news of half a century for Americans was the Russian revolution of the month of March, 1917. Dominating forces and influences had determined that the United States should enter the European war as an ally of the British Empire and France. From the standpoint of these powerful influences, Germany's new submarine blockade of February merely afforded the occasion. It was ordained that we should arm merchant ships, send them into the forbidden zones of terror, meet the inevitable attack, and find ourselves at war with Germany. We should then of necessity bring ourselves into full identity with the Allies, in their great struggle, and find some relief in throwing off the pretense of a neutrality that we have never tried seriously to uphold. Thus Russia's efficiency, and her loyalty to the cause of the Allies, was destined to concern us directly—we being about to enter a war that we wish to see ended in the near future.

*America
Fully
Involved*

Presupposing our desire to enter the war, the submarine blockade could, of course, give us ample opportunity for inflaming the public mind by means of a great newspaper campaign, while affording in full measure those legal justifications that the official mind in Washington seems to regard as important. On the other hand, presupposing our desire to keep out of the European war, there had always been open to us methods of procedure that would have rendered it practically impossible for us to become involved. Those who have believed in neutrality have been able, from the beginning of the war, to point out courses of action that could have given us great strength

in the world, that should have gone far to insure the rights of all other neutrals, and that might have helped to end the war. It is needless at this moment to ask why no such program of neutrality was adopted by the United States. For more than two years we have been as essentially a part of that great combination of financial and industrial effort that has been seeking to end the war by subduing German militarism as have some of the countries which have been formally engaged as belligerents. For a good while past, the real forces of this country have not been exerted through the Government, but through its unofficial economic structure, the Government being in acquiescence. Few people have realized the vastness of the business interests that have been supporting England and France. There has been even less perception of the processes which have brought us into a position of greater dependence than Canada herself, for our future international security, upon the good will of Great Britain. This is the fundamental fact.

*Motives
of Our War
Leaders*

Many American newspaper readers have been puzzled by the recent course of events. It is due to candor that they should be given a better understanding of the motives and convictions that have been behind the war movement in this country. The tremendous effort that was made in the month of February, and in the early part of March, to bring the United States completely into the war, had its origin in the chief centers of business and finance—New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. It was a perfectly sincere movement, and it was not—as some people think—impelled by motives of private greed on the part of bankers and munition-makers. Financiers may also be idealists;

and sometimes they are not nearly as cool-headed as the professors and scholars. The great leaders of American finance have for the most part convinced themselves that the future safety of this country is bound up with the winning of a decisive victory by England and France. There were many of them who thought we ought to go to war on general principles, in order to associate ourselves officially with those who were, in their opinion, fighting the battle of the world's order and freedom for the coming century. Such were their real convictions.

The Real Explanation

Most of them, however, were content to aid the Allies with supplies of foodstuffs, munitions, and other materials, and with the necessary credit in the form of loans, until a comparatively recent period. Then, somewhat suddenly, they began to exert a much more potent influence on behalf of our assuming the attitude of open belligerency. What was the real cause of this new warlike attitude, which became—thanks to certain newspapers that were a vital part of the movement—somewhat frenzied in its manifestations, and which reached a wild and furious climax in the first days of March, as the old Congress went out by limitation of its term? It is the answer to this question that brings us back to our opening sentence relative to the Russian revolution. Behind the screens of governmental secrecy in England and France it was not German submarines or German military prowess that for months past had caused the deepest apprehension. It was the strange situation in Russia, where German intrigue at the court of the Czar and in the ministry seemed to be thwarting Russia's efficiency as an ally.

Russia's Disappointing Course

It had been expected, a year ago, that the third year of the war would find Russia's vast reserves of men equipped and prepared for irresistible action. But Russia's comparative failure had brought overwhelming ruin to Rumania, and there was some reason to fear that dominant influences in the Russian ministry would soon bring about a separate peace with Germany. With Russia doing her full and proper part in a world war which was brought on by her championship of Serbia as against Austria and Germany, there could have been no particular desire on the part of England and France to have the United States take active part in the struggle. Last

fall it was the opinion in London and Paris that Germany would have to yield as a result of the campaign of 1917, and that peace would be made before another winter. This confident hope had been abandoned in January and February, not through disappointment in the British and French achievements of preparation, nor through a better estimate of the prowess of Germany, but through something like dismay over the situation in Russia. There were obvious reasons why this could not be said publicly by British and French statesmen, and equally evident reasons why the censorship permitted the newspapers to cast no reflections upon Russia's loyalty to her allies.

America Needed as an Ally

It had to be proclaimed that Russia was going to do her best, and that the Allies were working together with as much unity in their military plans, and as firm a will to secure victory, as the Central Powers were showing under lead of the German General Staff. But behind the scenes there was for a time an anxiety that may perhaps never be openly admitted. And this is the reason, so far as we can base an opinion upon such facts as we have been able to assemble, why the British and French hailed with so much satisfaction the breaking off of relations between the United States and Germany, and watched every disaster in the submarine zone so anxiously, hoping that some technical point affecting an American citizen or an American ship would lead to avowed belligerency. Having been drawn into the strife, it was felt in England and France that Uncle Sam would gradually arouse himself and become a factor of tremendous aid and comfort in the general war. Once at war with Germany, all America's present and future interests—as everybody in England and France can see—would be at stake in the hazardous game. Uncle Sam could not put his hand to the plow and then look back. He would have enlisted "for the war," and would have to see it through. They were aware that America's resources were considerably greater than those of any other country in the world, and they were extremely anxious to have the Rubicon crossed and America irrevocably committed. We are not conveying a hint of any treasonable conspiracy on the part of these financial and journalistic agencies in New York that were so clamorously demanding that we go to war in February and the opening days of March.

*Russia Rises
To Her Duty*

Doubtless they were sincere in their belief that our best welfare lay in helping England, and that England was in peril as never before. This peril, as they conceived it, was due to a combination of dangers, second of which was the German submarine campaign, while foremost was the chance that Russia might be induced by Germany to make separate arrangements. The entrance of the United States was expected to have several indirect and immediate effects. One of these was to break down hope and confidence in Germany, while another was to strengthen the moral hold of the Allies upon Russia and to weaken the arguments for a separate Russian peace. The larger and more direct reason for American participation, however, was the ultimate war strength that America could develop in case Russia should fail. But the revolution at Petrograd means that the Russian people are not going to prove recreant, that they intend to see that their armies are supported by an honest and efficient government, and that they will henceforth cooperate with their allies through leaders in whom they have confidence. This, in our opinion, is great news for America, even as it seems to us to be the most hopeful indication for the world's future peace and welfare that any country has given since the outbreak of the war. With the new Russia dawns a bright era.

*The Changed
Prospects*

No intelligent person any longer disparages England's preparation or her fighting ability. At the present moment the *morale* of the British army seems to be equal, if not superior, to that of Germany or France. All that was necessary to give the Allies reasonable assurance of a fairly early conclusion of the war was to have Russia do her part as thoroughly and unflinchingly as the British and the French. In our opinion, the violation of neutral rights on the sea has furnished ample occasion for America's going to war, but has not supplied in itself a necessary reason. The only sufficient reason for our going to war must be found in the belief that we could thus contribute best to the cause of justice and right, and of established peace for all the world as well as for ourselves. With Russia doing her full part, and the assurance that she will support her new and capable Liberal leaders to the end, there is much less reason for the United States to become deeply involved than there would have been if the pro-German ministry and the pro-German

influences at work in the Czar's household had been able to accomplish their purposes. The prospects are wholly changed.

*What Might
Have Happened*

As our readers are well aware, this periodical has supported the view that America ought to maintain a consistent neutrality, and that the neutrals should use every conceivable influence to bring the war to an end. But we have never for a moment believed that Germany was fitted to dominate the world, or that the circumstances of the present great war justified a victory by the Central Powers. In view of the agony of the war, the death of millions of brave young men at the front, and the suffering of millions of women and children at home, we have longed to have reason assert itself as against war madness and to have a world peace worked out somewhat on the lines laid down by President Wilson in his address to the Senate delivered late in January. But nothing of this kind could have happened if Russia had deserted her allies and made a separate peace. It does not call for any great military knowledge or rare power of imagination to picture what the defection of Russia would have meant. Parts of Russia, particularly in the south, had vast surpluses of wheat and food supplies, but in Petrograd and other parts of the empire there were food riots last month because the existing bureaucracy, controlling the railroads, had prevented distribution of food, just as it had also prevented the movement of ammunition and supplies to the armies. But if peace were made between Germany and Russia, these vast stocks of cereals and food animals would be poured as a welcome flood across hunger-stricken Germany and Austria. Russia—at peace with Germany, and a neutral in the war—would have the same right to sell war supplies and contraband of all kinds to the Central Powers, that we have exercised in selling such materials to England and France. A well-fed Germany would at once become an exceedingly hopeful Germany.

*If Russia
Had Failed!*

Furthermore, millions of German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish soldiers, now confronting Russia on a long line extending all the way from the Baltic to the Black Sea and south of the Caucasus in Asia Minor, would be released for service elsewhere. Austria could at once double her forces fighting Italy; the Turks could quadruple their forces

that have retreated from Bagdad before General Maude's successful British army; Bulgaria, with large German and Austrian reinforcements, could probably overwhelm General Sarraill's forces advancing from Salonica, while Germany could swing at once at least a million men from the Russian front to reinforce the armies holding the lines in France against the British and French forces. With Russia out of the war and at peace with Germany, Japan would be in a difficult position, and might be virtually compelled to strengthen her alliance with Russia, make peace terms with Germany, and sell munitions and supplies to the Turks. Under these circumstances, the defense of Egypt might prove very difficult. Germany could thus build submarines with redoubled energy, and, being well fed herself with the inexhaustible resources of Russia always at hand, could make the menace of hunger in the British Islands a very serious and formidable fact.

*The Weak
and Wavering
Czar*

It is a dull mind, and one quite meagerly informed, that could regard these suggestions as fanciful. Germany has known that a merely demoralized and inefficient Russia gave her some chance to win at least what President Wilson has called "Peace without victory." But Germany also has known that a Russia put wholly out of the war, on separate peace terms, might give her a chance to win an early truce with something like positive victory. It is no wonder that efforts should have been made to bring this about, and that the French and English governments were alarmed by reason of the ominous events that attended these efforts. The people of Russia, in the main, were loyal to the causes that had led them into the war. The Czar had seemingly intended to be loyal to the people, but had been unable to dominate, and had himself been the victim of influences that had swayed him first to one side and then to the other. The Czarina, herself a German princess and a person of stronger will than the Czar, had been opposed to the war from the beginning and had worked with those who sought a separate peace. The great bureaucratic system of Russia, and the other reactionary forces, had for many reasons favored close relations between Russia and Germany. The new parliament, called the Duma—which popular revolutionary movements compelled the Czar to grant after the war with Japan—was liberal

and popular in its sympathies and led by strong and patriotic men.

*A Constructive
Revolution*

The local governing bodies of the provinces and districts of the empire were popular in their origin and sympathies and were banded together in a loose kind of union which was supporting the war with great loyalty and enthusiasm. But against the Duma and the Union of the Zemstvos was the influence of the Czar's court and of the Premier and ministers of state, who were accountable only to the Czar and not to the Duma. At times since the beginning of the war there had been patriotic and loyal men in the premiership and the cabinet. But for most of the time the bureaucrats had controlled the munitioning, transportation, and other government functions, and had hampered the work of the army. For many weeks the news from Russia had been meager and obscure, and the situation had been growing more alarming in the opinion of London and Paris. But there had been a great growth of free public opinion in Russia, and the real leaders—who had found their opportunity through the union of local governments and through the Duma—were quietly preparing for their great revolutionary stroke, which was destined to be relatively quick and to involve civil war only for a few days and to a slight extent. The Czar had suspended the Duma for a month, and the Duma had unanimously refused to be disbanded. Food riots had begun in Petrograd, and the soldiers had turned against their own officers and refused to shoot down the rioters. Regiment by regiment, the troops in Petrograd and Moscow went over to the cause of the people, and out of the mysterious background there suddenly emerged a competent and well-organized leadership that had evidently created a previous understanding with General Brusiloff and the other military leaders at the front.

*Will
Monarchy
Survive?*

The President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko, and the great parliamentary Liberal leader, Prof. Paul N. Milyukoff, backed solidly by the Duma, were in the forefront of the revolution, as were the leaders in the well-established system of local governments. These men are not wild visionaries, but eminently practical men of constructive minds, fitted to lead Russia into a new epoch of democratic, representative institutions. Czar

Nicholas and his consort, Alexandra, were so completely identified with the autocratic system that the Czar's abdication was a wise and fortunate step. The Czar had been on the throne for more than twenty-two years, although not yet forty-nine years old. His young son, a lad of twelve is an invalid, and his heirship was renounced by the Czar himself. The retiring Czar's brother, the Grand Duke Michael, may be accepted as a constitutional monarch, but he makes no claims and awaits the national verdict. The important thing is that henceforth the Czar ceases to be a "czar" in our common use of that word. The throne, if it survives, will have such restricted power as is now exercised by the kings of England, Italy, and the three Scandinavian countries and the Queen of Holland.

Hopeful Changes

Parliamentary government, more or less on the plan of all these countries that we have named, will take the place of the autocratic, bureaucratic system that has been responsible for so much misery in Russia. Constitutional government in the full sense means a future of justice for Jews, Finns, Poles, and other races. It means happier relationships with foreign countries. It will probably mean in a short time the removal of those difficulties which led to the denouncing of our commercial treaty with Russia. The differences were chiefly associated with the treatment of Jews. Parliamentary government has a tendency to bring about at times a harmful intensity of party strife; and Russia's progress in the future cannot hope to be spared many serious troubles and painful crises. But at least it may be said that the outlook

for liberty and progress in Russia was more favorable with the swift transformations of last month than it had been at any time since the abolition of serfdom.

A Century in a Week

For some days previous to the 15th of March, Russian censors had virtually isolated Petrograd.

It was known that there were political disturbances and that the Duma was asserting itself against the Czar and the ministers. It was known that Lord Milner, who is Mr. Lloyd George's right-hand man in the British War Council, had been sent to visit the Czar, in the hope of being able to bring about an accord between the Czar's autocratic government and



THE DEPOSED CZAR OF RUSSIA AND HIS FAMILY

the people's representatives. And it had been intimated that Milner was returning from a vain errand and had left behind him a weak, obstinate, and hopelessly blinded potentate. Hints leaked out of Russia that there were food riots in Petrograd and Moscow. When at length the whole scheme of censorship was swept away, and Russian news became as free and available as American news, we were told, on the afternoon of the 15th, of a successful revolution. Within a week a political transformation had been wrought that might, through normal processes of reform, have required another century to achieve.

The Thrill of Joy Was World-Wide

It would be impossible to exaggerate the effect of this astounding news as it swept around the world on Friday, the 16th, with fuller confirmation on Saturday and on the days that followed. The thrill in all nations was one of joy and hope among the people. Such a wave of optimistic sentiment had not



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THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL
From the *American* (New York)

touched the nations at any moment since the outbreak of the great war. When the war began, in the summer of 1914, this REVIEW declared that one of the chief causes was the unfitness of surviving governmental structures and agencies to control the destinies of modern peoples; and that thoroughgoing reconstruction in the name of democracy must result if the future peace of the world was to be secured. The Russian autocracy had, in the minds of liberal men everywhere, stood for what had survived of the most dangerous forms of tyranny. With the growth of modern education, science, and industry in Europe and in the world, the reactionary government of Russia had become unspeakably odious. Even now, since the present war began, Russia's system of secret police had continued to make thousands of political prisoners, victimizing the very best elements of Russian citizenship. Numerous members of recent Dumas had been banished, imprisoned, or otherwise punished for exercising their rights in the parliamentary body.

The system was as corrupt and inefficient as it was arbitrary and oppressive. Whatever reproach on the score of wastefulness and lack of thor-

ough system may be brought against our modern democratic governments, they are incomparably more capable and efficient than a medieval autocracy such as had survived in Russia. But the great thrill that was felt around the world was not due to any doctrinaire sentiment about forms of government. It was due to a great longing for justice and good-will in the world, and for brotherly harmony among men of all races, tongues, and creeds. Everybody felt that with the dark and sinister forces of autocracy destroyed in Russia, the great war had already begun to justify itself in results that gave promise of a better world. A liberal Russia, with men in the cabinet who have known exile and imprisonment for precisely such political views as those held by Premier Lloyd George in England and Premier Briand in France, is a country that can now work on terms of thoroughly good understanding with its allies. The late Czar Nicholas had in even more hopeless a measure the same mystical and absurd views of kings as ruling by divine right that have so often been expressed by the present Emperor of Germany. With the fall of the Romanoffs, government by authority and privilege is about to perish from the earth, as a recognized system. Its chief bulwarks are destroyed.

*Will There Be
a Republic?*

The thing proclaimed in Russia, in that wonderful third week of March, was a government of the people, by the people, and for the people—a government resting as solidly upon universal suffrage as that of the United States. For the present this will be carried on under well-known men who have been developed as popular leaders through the parliamentary proceedings of the Duma and through the associated activities of the Zemstvos, which are a network of local and provincial councils. In due time, it is declared, there will be a great constitutional convention, which will decide upon the exact forms of Russia's future government. The tentative proposal that the Czar's twelve-year-old son should be made nominal sovereign, with the Czar's brother as Regent, was, after a day or two, said to have failed. It is for the Russians to decide whether they will keep alive the institution of royalty, which has been so closely associated with their national church, or whether they will have the courage and sound judgment to become a republic forthwith and to ordain as full religious liberty as exists in the United States.

*The Epoch
of
Democracy*

No one should suppose that a transition so vast can be accomplished without extraordinary difficulties and without some near and future periods of intense partisan strife and dissension. But if it is to be a republic, we may at least remember that the new Russia is born in an epoch much more auspicious for republics than was the first French republic, which drifted by way of militarism into Napoleon's empire and which was forced back to the outward forms of the old monarchy after Waterloo. Vast underlying reforms accomplished by the French Revolution and by the administrative genius of Napoleon survived, however, through all subsequent changes; and the present French republic, in fact, rests upon the foundations laid in the great days of July, 1789, when the Bastille was destroyed and the principles of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" were proclaimed. Free Russia in the Twentieth Century will not have to undergo the vicissitudes that beset political liberty throughout the Nineteenth Century. The enthusiasm of France for the new order in Russia will strengthen the Rus-

sian patriots at home; and the success of popular government in England, the United States, Canada, and many smaller countries, will have made the Russian people familiar with the ideals and methods of working democracy. Popular government is no longer the exception or the dubious experiment. Even China, the most conservative of nations, has passed through her revolutionary struggle, bids fair to maintain herself as a republic, and is now intent upon building up her own citizenship in capacity for self-government and for efficient social and economic organization.

*China's Better
Outlook*

When all the facts are known, it may turn out that certain momentous steps taken by China with respect to the war, which were announced just as the Russian revolution was assuming the form of a swift *coup d'état*, were something more than a coincidence. Undoubtedly the popular leaders had been long planning carefully in Russia to bring about full parliamentary government, with a view to a better prosecution of the war. China's relations with Russia are of necessity intimate, and all the sympathies of the present government at Peking are naturally with the liberal elements in Russia. An emancipated Russia, with wholly new and chastened motives affecting the imperial and foreign policies of Petrograd and Moscow, will have a tendency to strengthen the Chinese republic to an extent that appeals very warmly to the sympathetic imagination. It was the old, sinister, scheming Russia that was such a constant menace to the integrity of China. The new Russia must care chiefly for internal development and progress. She can afford to abandon secret foreign policies and to give up ambitions and projects that endanger the future of her neighbors.

*All Races
Breathe More
Freely*

China, furthermore, as a republic is in great sympathy with the United States. We in America are conscious of coveting nothing that belongs to China, and we look with the greatest good-will upon China's progress in freedom and education. The only break in our long friendship with Russia has grown out of our intense dislike of her political intolerance and her infamous treatment of Jews, her violation of the guaranteed rights of Finland, her undue territorial aggressions against China, and the history of her relations to Poland. The new order of things in Russia



INTO THE LIGHT

By Rollin Kirby, in the *World* (New York)

begins with the granting of full and complete rights to citizens of all creeds and nationalities. And in due time it would seem likely enough that a liberal government of free Russia would put an end to that long, discreditable record of intrigues that has threatened China, Persia, and other neighboring political entities.

Reactions upon Germany

Nor was it merely a coincidence, as we shall probably learn in the future, that the German Chancellor himself, on Wednesday, March 14, in an impassioned speech, became the champion of the movement for a more popular government that was sweeping across Germany. We have more than once explained to our readers the peculiarities of the electoral system, and other political arrangements, that give the absolute control of German policy to an imperial council that is in turn completely dominated by a reactionary group of Prussian nobles and bureaucrats, which is under the final mastery of the Hohenzollern dynasty. The Reichstag is popularly elected; but the Reichstag does not control the policies of the German Empire, any more than the Duma at Petrograd had controlled the policies of Russia. The upper house of the Prussian legislature is wholly aristocratic and reactionary—in those respects worse even than the British House of Lords has ever been. The lower house of the Prussian legislature is mainly conservative and reactionary, but has a small popular element. This lower house has been asking for certain reforms, such as payment of salaries to the members, and electoral reforms, not to be too long deferred. The upper house has been opposing even the faintest suggestions of reform.

The Chancellor's Great Speech

It was in this upper house that the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, made on the spur of the moment one of the most remarkable speeches of his entire career. He identified himself with forthcoming political reforms for Prussia, and warned the reactionary statesmen, who seemed to have no ability to read the signs of the times. Undoubtedly Bethmann-Hollweg, through his swift and unfailing sources of information, knew just what was going on at that moment in Petrograd. By talking of moderate political reforms, he yielded to the breezes that were setting in from the north. The Russian news was being very carefully censored in Germany, and the Chancellor was trying to avert a revo-

lution at home by declaring that he himself would take the lead in future political reforms. It remains to be seen, however, whether the Chancellor's adroit speech will have brought sufficient comfort and cheer to the Social Democrats of Germany to secure the further postponement of internal political issues, and the maintenance of what has been something like a complete unity of Germany for the sole purpose of prosecuting the war. The affinity between the autocratic governments of Russia and Germany in times past had been a bad thing for the liberties of both great peoples; and it had contributed more than almost anything else to the sum total of evil influences in the world which had culminated in the great war.

Hope for a Liberal Germany

The destruction of Russia's autocracy leaves that of Prussia in a more exposed position, more subject to assault from within and criticism from without. A liberal Germany, representing in government and policy what is best and noblest in German thought and civilization, would offer no menace to the rights of other nations and peoples, and would in due time be able to secure the respect and influence throughout the world that naturally belongs to the German people. An utterly false sense of national power and its exercise in relation to the rights and liberties of other nations has become bound up with German imperial policy. This insane determination to secure Germany's future through sheer assertion of strength and dominance has now turned almost the entire world



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THESE ARE ANXIOUS MOMENTS FOR THE KAISER
From the Evening World (New York)

against militant Germany. Everything of a reasonable sort that Germans have aspired to gain would have been theirs in due time if they had been content to live quietly and at peace. At the very moment when the growth of freedom in the world was making old-fashioned imperial systems obsolete, Germany was trying to create the old-fashioned kind of empire. The British Empire is in essence little more than a voluntary association of free and self-governing peoples. Germany has a wholly different theory and policy of empire from that of Britain.

*India and
England*

India, indeed, seems to be an exception. But India is a vast congeries of races, peoples, creeds, and castes. There is only one thing at present that all these different peoples can agree upon, and that is the continuance of the "*pax Britannica*." England maintains the general peace in India, slowly but steadily builds up the economic and social life of the country, and in due time she will allow to India, both locally and collectively, just as extensive a system of self-government as the people can successfully operate. Within the past month a question of immense significance having to do with the relationships between England and India has been under discussion in the British Parliament, and has been decided in favor of India. The government carried on by the British Viceroy, Baron Hardinge, in India had decided, with the approval of the authorities at London, to raise an additional \$500,000,000 for the support of the war. In order to obtain a fund by means of which they could secure the payment of principal and interest, these governing authorities had proposed to impose an increased duty upon cotton goods imported into India. The existing tariff is at the very nominal rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem. The raise is up to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Historically, the textile industries of England have held the first rank in value and industrial significance in British export trade; and the leading feature of the textile industries has been the spinning and weaving of cotton in the great Manchester district.

*Manchester,
and the
Empire*

India and China have long afforded vast markets for the cotton goods of Europe and America, and especially for those of the Manchester district. The imposition of duties on manufactured cotton in India, as against Great Britain herself as well as against Japan and

other countries, is wholly repugnant to the old theory of colonial empires. Manchester would have been well pleased to see a system of complete free trade, as between India and Great Britain, with Indian tariff barriers erected against cotton goods from Japan, the United States, and other countries. It looked for a moment as if the Manchester protest might prevail with Lloyd-George and the Government. But in view of India's remarkable loyalty in the face of all the plots and conspiracies that have come to light, the British Government has now stood firmly upon the ground that the cotton situation is one in which India is more entitled to consideration than Manchester.

*Empires and
Exclusive
Trade*

The decision is not alone sound from the standpoint of present war emergencies. It is also sound and wise from the standpoint of the world's future well-being. It is not henceforth going to be feasible to use European armies and navies in order to expand political empire with the ultimate object of creating enlarged spheres of trade from which the rest of the world is to be excluded. The most dangerous and unsound project that has been formulated since the beginning of the great war is that agreement made at Paris last year, looking toward a commercial and trade union of England and her allies after the war, to the avowed disadvantage of the United States and other neutrals, as well as to the detriment of Germany and her allies. During the past month the Premiers and some other statesmen from the British self-governing dominions have been in London consulting with the English leaders regarding not



THE CHEERFUL BRITISH VIEWPOINT AS TO THE
"U PEST"

"The same species as before, but larger and more vicious.
Must make the antidote larger and more vicious!"
From the *Dispatch* (Manchester, England)

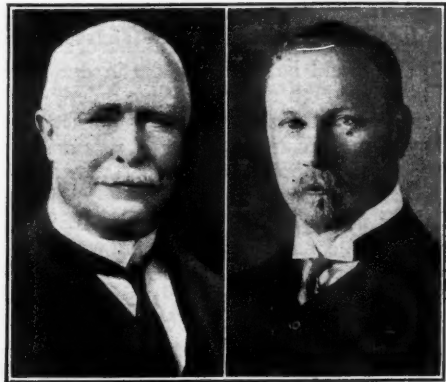
only the prosecution of the war but the structure of the British Empire in the period that is to follow. It is not for outsiders at this time to give themselves much concern over the nature and extent of those alliances that are to hold together the group of free peoples associated together in what is so inappropriately and unfortunately styled the "British Empire."

*Canada's
Future Place*

The Canadian people, quite as much as those of the United States, have their lot cast in North America. European affiliations in the long run are not essential to the well-being of any great American community. The thing most to be desired is not a colonial Canada, but a Canadian republic so well conducted as to set all other American republics an example of fine ideals excellently supported in practise. There is nothing that would redound to the real welfare of Canada that would not also be of benefit to England and to the United States, provided we are all permitted to live in a well-ordered world. With the equal friendship of the United States and England, Canada's position is today and will remain more secure than that of any other aspiring young country in the whole world. She is just now paying a very great price to show loyalty to the traditions of her origin and to give full consistency to the course of her political history. She will have achieved as complete a right to an unembarrassed decision regarding her own future as any country in all the history of the world has ever heretofore attained. Her political independence from England could not well be thought of if there were not also involved at the same time an understanding that amounted to a British alliance, and also a like understanding with the United States, as well as with all the various parts of what has constituted the British Empire.

*Tariffs
Should Be
National*

Exclusive British imperial tariff policies, as against the rest of the world, would be reactionary and not for the best interest of those concerned. Moderate protective tariffs are of assistance during certain periods in building up regions of undeveloped industry, so that they may at length participate on something like an equal basis of maturity with the more highly developed countries. Canada, for instance, has rightly insisted upon her own tariff policy. India is a vast consumer of cotton goods because of the habits and customs of the peo-



Premier Massey, of New Zealand General Smuts, of South Africa

TWO OF THE COLONIAL STATESMEN ATTENDING THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE AT LONDON

ple. India is also a considerable producer of raw cotton. Furthermore, India has vast populations, and her labor is naturally skilful. It is in the nature of things, therefore, that India should in due time greatly increase her number of spindles and looms. A tariff to protect and hasten such increase is quite appropriate. It would not be fitting that the authorities of the British Empire should hamper the industrial development of a great region like India. The conscience of the world will be more sensitive in the future than in the past to such exploitations as the opium trade of India and China, so wrongly forced by the British authorities and so darkly staining the record of British policy in the Orient. That long and ugly chapter has just now come to an end. The policies that must henceforth prevail in India are those that can best promote the well-being of the millions of inhabitants, rather than those that are dictated by the textile workers of Manchester or the metal workers of Birmingham or Sheffield. Equality of economic development is the true policy of the future.

*China Seeking
Justice*

It is along such lines that the movements of the past few weeks in China have great significance. China's breaking off relations with Germany is part of a policy for the better assertion of China's place as a self-directing nation. She is still painfully paying off the outrageous indemnities that were foisted upon her by the European countries after the Boxer uprising. The United States was the only country which had the grace and decency to



Premier Morris, of Newfoundland Premier Borden, of Canada Premier Hughes, of Australia
THREE OF THE PREMIERS OF SELF-GOVERNING DOMINIONS ATTENDING THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE AT LONDON

remit her share of these indemnities, which were in no wise due from China on any just ground. China, furthermore, wishes to have freedom to revise her tariff rates in the interest of her revenues and also in the interest of her industrial development. The only obstacle in the way is a series of commercial treaties in which low tariff rates are prescribed. In the nature of the case, China is entitled to negotiate for a release from these duties, and it will be for the honor as well as for the ultimate welfare of all nations to take a generous view of these things that are so vital to the great Chinese republic.

*Japan May
Also Benefit*

It has been only a quarter of a century since Japan was in the same position; and she had no friend among the nations, willing and ready to encourage the revoking of the vexatious commercial treaties, except the United States. Japan built up her strength, however, and found a favorable moment for denouncing the treaties, the whole world accepting a situation that was thoroughly reasonable. Japan now desires great influence in the future of China. She will obtain it far more certainly by a policy of generosity and full respect for China's rights and dignity than by a policy based upon the accidental fact that Japan is strong in the military sense, while China—like the United States—is without military preparation. We have frequently commented upon the relations of China and Japan, and have taken the view that close intimacy ought to be of mutual advantage. Japan's seemingly undue pressure upon China has resulted chiefly from Japan's

fear of the aggression of Russia and the other European powers. A liberalized Russia can more easily be persuaded to see the possibility of permanent friendship and mutual helpfulness in the affairs of the Far East; and the United States and Russia might find an honorable method of association with Japan and China for developing the resources of the East and the commerce of the Pacific.

*Mr. Simonds on
the Military
Situation*

Mr. Simonds returned from Europe about the first of March, after a safe passage through the submarine zone, and we are so fortunate as to resume again his excellent monthly discussions of the Great War. This second trip of his, following that of a year ago, gave him now as then the best available opportunities to study the political situations in England and France and the military conditions on the English and French fighting fronts. He enjoyed conferences with the Prime Ministers and other political war heads of both countries, as well as with Sir Douglas Haig and the other English and French military men in command of the fighting armies. Our readers missed his contributions for two months. Before he went abroad it was his rather confident expectation that the war would be ended in the fighting season of 1917, by Allied victory. Why and to what extent he has modified his view he explains in the opening part of his interesting article in this number of the REVIEW. Mr. Simonds came back fully realizing the deep anxiety in London and Paris regarding Russia's efficiency. He was in the confidence of those who were in a position to let him

know more than he was then at liberty to tell, regarding their grave concern. Few persons, therefore, can understand as well as Mr. Simonds the great rebound of feeling in France and England, and the almost inexpressible relief that has resulted. The Russian army has been brave and loyal, and back of the army have been the Russian people and many capable leaders. But the bureaucracy had so sadly muddled the military situation that doubtless it will take some time to bring it to order again. Among other dramatic events, one that stands out is the recall of the Grand Duke Nicholas from the obscurity in the Caucasus to which he had been relegated by the Czar. With a Government supporting the military authorities, Russia will begin to give a much better account of herself. Mr. Simonds, also, having been in France and England during the exciting weeks of the opening of the new German submarine campaign, is especially qualified to discuss that subject; and thus his month's summing up and interpretation of the recent course of things in the Great War is of surpassing interest.

America
and Germany

In our March number we discussed the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany by President Wilson at the beginning of February, on account of the resumption by the German navy of unrestricted submarine warfare within prescribed zones, especially the waters surrounding the British islands. It was supposed that President Wilson was prepared to follow this step—which resulted in the departure of Ambassador Bernstorff from the United States and the withdrawal of Ambassador Gerard from Berlin—by some kind of action or the announcement of some kind of policy. But matters were allowed to drift for about four weeks. Passenger ships of the American Line postponed their sailing, and many other ships remained in harbor, waiting for the President to reach his decision. It was allowed to be known that our Government would have no objection to the mounting of guns by American merchant ships. But there was no way by which the owners of such ships could obtain any guns, nor could they have found competent gunners available for employment. Two or three American freighters meanwhile had ventured forth to take their chances—under large pecuniary encouragement; and it appeared to the public as if the Administration were waiting to have one of these ships sunk

without warning, in order to allow its next move to be guided by some such incident or detail. Congress meanwhile was approaching the end of the session, which must of necessity occur on the 4th of March, by reason of the expiration of the term for which the Sixty-fourth House was elected.

Mr. Wilson
Proposed
"Armed Ships"

At length, on Monday, February 26th, President Wilson appeared before Congress and made an address on the submarine situation, in the course of which he said:

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances, with discretion but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen, upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise. . . . There may be no recourse but to armed neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed force anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. . . . I am not now proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and authority to safeguard in practise the right of a great people who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world. No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others. . . .



UNCLE SAM: "GEE, I AIN'T ANYWHERE!"
From the Tribune (South Bend, Indiana)

You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen. I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant ships with defensive arms, should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks.

Mr. Wilson's
Bill in
Congress

The Administration itself had prepared a bill which it wished to have Congress enact, and this was promptly introduced in both Houses. Mr. Flood, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, took charge of the matter at his end of the capital, while in the Senate Mr. Hitchcock, of Nebraska, was given charge at the request of Senator Stone, who as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee did not approve of the bill in its original form. The bill as drawn to meet the President's views authorized the President to supply merchant ships bearing American registry with defensive arms and with ammunition, etc. It further declared that the President "*be and hereby is authorized and empowered to employ such other instrumentalities and methods as may in his judgment and discretion seem necessary and adequate to protect such ships and the citizens of the United States in their lawful and peaceful pursuits on the high seas.*" Incidentally, the bill also appropriated \$100,000,000 for the purposes stated. The House of Representatives refused to grant the President the general powers he asked for, as indicated in the quotation which we have printed above in italics. With this sweeping clause taken out of the bill, the House with very little opposition voted to give the President authority at his discretion to aid in the arming of American merchant ships, in order that they might be able to protect themselves against attacking submarines. The vote in the House stood 403 to 13. This vote was taken late in the evening of March 1. The Senate meanwhile had been working on a naval appropriation bill of stu-



THE CHALLENGE ACCEPTED

UNCLE SAM: "That's intended for me. I guess I'll take it up."

From *The People* (London)

pendous magnitude, and it was not in position to take up the President's armed ship bill until March 2, immediately after the action of the House.

Contest in
the Senate

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by a majority vote due to the Republican members, reported favorably—though with certain amendments of phraseology—the Administration bill. That is to say, the discussion that ensued in the Senate was upon a bill that *retained* the general grant of power that *the House had stricken out* and had refused to authorize. There was great difference of opinion as to what ought to be done. It was well known that a very large number of the Senators were not in sympathy with the bill as it stood. The session was to close at noon on March 4, and a number of the most important appropriation bills had not yet been passed. There remained Friday and Saturday, March 4 being Sunday. Senator Stone, of Missouri, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, desired to amend the bill—first, to restrict its grant of power to arming ships as the House had done, and, further, to qualify this grant by limiting the official arming of merchant ships to those not carrying munitions to a belligerent. Senator Stone held that for the United States Government to put powerful naval guns and trained gunners from our navy on merchant ships carrying loads of munitions from this

country directly to the front would in itself be an act of war. This is obviously true if Germany should care to regard it in that light. The issue was one, in the Senator's opinion, of profound importance, and he took a reasonable amount of time to explain his views. Senator O'Gorman, of New York, was in general accord with Senator Stone. The two Senators from Iowa, Messrs. Cummins and Kenyon, desired amendments. Perhaps the most determined opponent of the measure was Senator La Follette, of Wisconsin, although he was not given an opportunity to make the speech that he had prepared—the floor being held for the most part by Senator Hitchcock, in charge of the bill, who was endeavoring to obtain unanimous consent for a vote at some given hour before the expiration of the session.

*The Senate's
"Filibuster"*

There suddenly arose, under the leadership of the Administration forces at Washington and certain important newspapers, a clamor against what was denominated a "filibuster" by these objecting Senators. This clamor became so infuriated as to obscure altogether the simple facts in the case. It would seem that there were about eleven Senators who were not willing to vote for the bill exactly as it stood. Among these eleven it does not appear that there had been any agreement or arrangement whatsoever to "talk the bill to death." President Wilson himself had waited until the very close of the session, when Congress was overwhelmed with the pressure of great appropriation bills, to make a proposal that it was not only the right but the duty of Congress to consider with great care. It is regrettable to be obliged to say that many of the newspapers of the country were not at pains to let their readers understand what was going on. They did not explain that the Senate was being forced to do what the House had refused to do. One of the New York papers, for example, that took the lead in the attempt to bring personal obloquy upon the eleven Senators for not joining in granting the President's request, had itself, on February 27—less than a week previously—made an even more disparaging attack upon the President himself for venturing to make that very proposal. This newspaper, and many others, had veered completely around. They had denounced the President because, as the title of one of their editorials put it: "He Tells Nothing, But Asks for a Blank Conveyance of Powers." Yet three or four days

later, when several Senators were not ready to make that blank conveyance of powers, these same newspapers denounced them as traitors to their country, and held them up to unmeasured scorn. We have known the history of American journalism well; and we have never known a more reckless or hysterical abuse of the responsibility that the functions of serious journalism should impose.

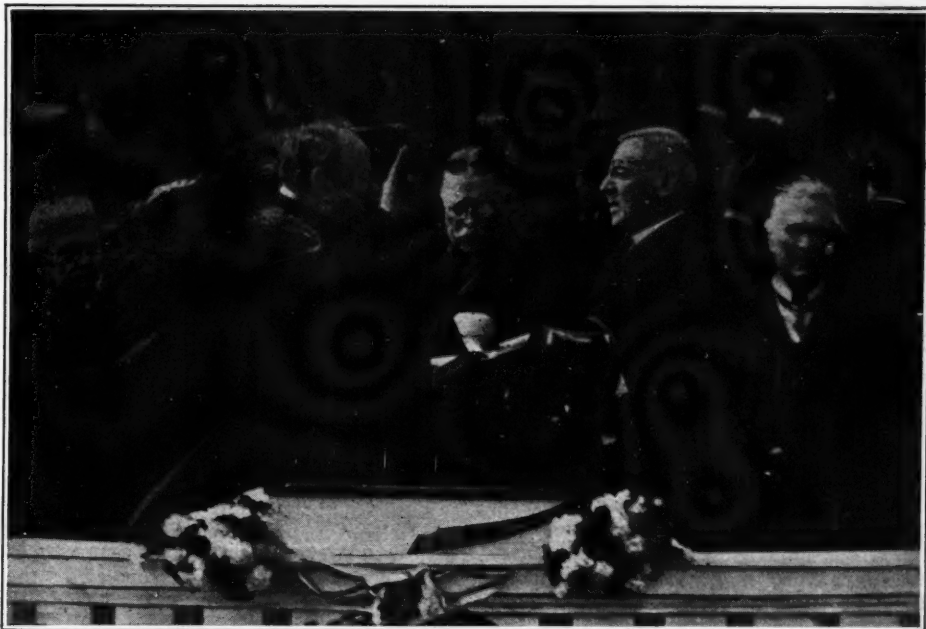
*What Was
the Real
"Filibuster"?*

Never in the history of the United States had there been a more urgent reason for calling a new Congress into session than had been apparent from the beginning of February. With the country facing no emergencies at all, Mr. Taft had convoked the Sixty-first and Sixty-second Congresses in extra session, and Mr. Wilson himself had convoked the Sixty-third. The new Congress should have been called to meet promptly on Monday, March 5. It had been elected last November. The *real filibuster* consisted in the attempt to dispense with calling the new Congress. It was inappropriate to ask the expiring Congress in its closing hours, without time for debate, to grant indefinite war powers to the President in order to enable him to carry on the Government for months to come, perhaps until next December, without calling Congress to Washington. Nothing in our history has so clearly shown the rapidity of our tendency to an exclusive Presidential government. It is the Congress elected last November that represents the public and that should have entered upon its work on the day following the beginning of the President's second term, which is his by virtue of election also in November. The most essential of the changes that ought to be



THE TWO EAGLES COME TOGETHER AT LAST
THE KAISER: "But what about Peace without Victory, Woodrow?"
WILSON: "Billy, you're not the only guy who can rip up scraps of paper!"

From *Punch* (Melbourne, Australia)



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PRESIDENT WILSON TAKING OATH OF OFFICE ON OCCASION OF THE INAUGURAL CEREMONIES, MONDAY, MARCH 5, THAT MARKED THE BEGINNING OF HIS SECOND TERM

(Chief Justice White, with raised hand, administers the oath. An official in the center holds the customary Bible. At the left, in the foreground, is Vice-President Marshall)

made in our Constitution is one that would not permit an old Congress to assemble and do business after a new Congress had been elected. There is no other legislative body in the world that has an opportunity to do its most important legislative work after it has been voted out of office, and after its successor has been voted in by the people. The State legislatures of this country, as a rule, are elected in November and come into session in January.

*Congress Must
Respect Its
Own Position*

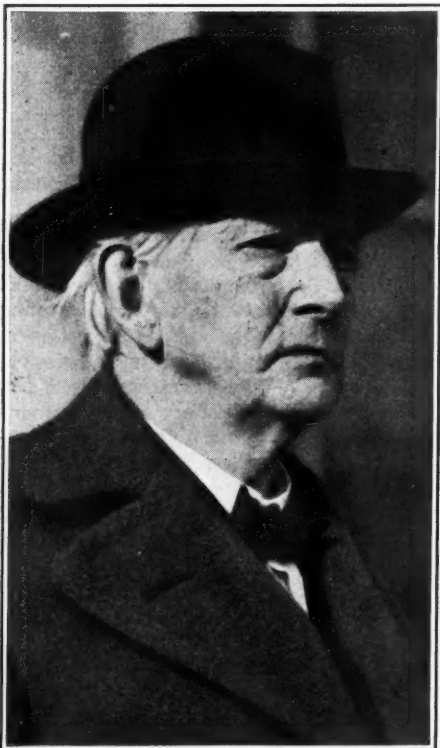
A situation that is bad by reason of provisions made in the Constitution 130 years ago ought not to be taken advantage of, and made far worse, by the exercise of Presidential pressure. It was never supposed by the makers of the Constitution that the President of the United States would seek to avoid calling Congress into session at times of great national emergency, when issues were pending that the Constitution had committed exclusively to Congress itself. With all respect to him, it seems to us that the President is mistaken in supposing that the people desire to have him rule the country by himself, without the aid of the elected representa-

tives. It is not parliamentary government that is on trial in the world to-day, but rather it is the separate and autocratic executive now on trial. The attempt of the executive to govern Russia without the Duma being in session has brought on the great revolution. An attempt only a few weeks ago by the President of China to determine policy apart from the legislative chambers proved futile—the ministry being responsible to parliament. The vast and various affairs of a nation like ours cannot be safely managed except through collective wisdom. Congress must not shirk its duties, nor cast its prerogatives away.

*The Senate
and Its Rules*

It had been proposed even to dispense with the brief session of the Senate that is usually called for the confirmation of appointments. But on this point the President yielded when it was found that the Senate was likely to grant certain desired ratifications. As respects the promotion of Dr. Grayson, to be head of the Medical Service of the Navy, with the grade of Rear-Admiral, Mr. Wilson secured at last the required Senate approval. He was not able to secure ratification of the very

objectionable and badly drawn treaty with Colombia. The Senate while in extra session adopted, by practically unanimous consent, a new rule which permits a two-thirds majority to fix a time for closing debate on a given measure. This subject of Senate rules is one that we have discussed in the REVIEW on previous occasions, always advocating some reasonable form of closure. It should be remarked, however, that the President's attitude and utterances opposing methods of procedure in the Senate have not been quite as reserved as our system requires. Congress is a coördinate branch of the Government. It would be highly inappropriate if the Senate should express itself regarding the President's manners and customs in the matter of calling Cabinet meetings or writing diplomatic notes. It is no more incumbent upon the President to interfere with the rules and methods of Congress than to dictate to the Supreme Court its methods of procedure, either in general or in the handling of a particular case.



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SENATOR WILLIAM J. STONE, OF MISSOURI
(Reappointed chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee)

*Best to Be
Sane and
Truthful*

The country should understand thoroughly that the tense situation in the closing days of the session was not due to the alleged filibuster, but on the contrary was due to the attempt to obviate the need of calling an immediate session of the Congress that was chosen last November. The attack upon the ten or twelve individual Senators was so absurd that within a few days the frenzy had passed away, and many of those who had engaged in the bad business of slandering and libeling reputable public men were properly ashamed of themselves. But for lack of moral courage in the face of clamor, a very much larger number of Democratic Senators would have acted with Mr. Stone and Mr. O'Gorman. In making this remark we are not identifying ourselves with the views expressed by those Senators. We are merely stating—what every member of the Senate well knows—that there was very little real sympathy in that body with the explicit proposals of the Administration bill asking for "a blank conveyance of powers." Furthermore, a good many Senators felt sheepish in receiving undeserved praise, while their more conscientious colleagues were being held up to unmerited obloquy. Thus the Senate answered the attacks upon Mr. Stone by unanimously reappointing him chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. His explanation to his constituents in Missouri, whether one agrees with it or not, showed that he was acting consistently under a high sense of public duty. It is needless to say regarding a statesman like Senator Cummins that his detractors only reflect upon themselves. There is no finer intellect than his in the Senate, and his courage never fails. Senator Norris, of Nebraska, proposed to resign if his course should be condemned by popular vote. He is one of the most upright, sincere, and devoted men now in public life; and the great State of Nebraska would certainly not wish him to be made the victim of petulant Eastern newspapers.

*Germany
and
Mexico*

Undoubtedly there was a great awakening of the country at the moment when this fight was going on in the Senate; but this was due to a new and unexpected disclosure of Germany's plans and methods. Late in the closing hours of the last day of February, the State Department gave to the Associated Press, for wide and sensational exploitation in the newspapers of March 1, a copy of a note

from the German Foreign Minister, Herr Zimmerman, to Herr von Eckhardt, who is the German Minister in Mexico. This note had in some mysterious way been intercepted and given to our Government, Secretary Lansing vouching for its authenticity. Far more than the submarine policy or any of Germany's violations of neutral rights, this note had the effect of making the American people feel that Germany had put herself beyond the hope of keeping America in a non-combatant position. The full text of the note was as follows:

Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

On the 1st of February we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep neutral the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement.

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with the United States, and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan. At the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan.

Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.

ZIMMERMAN.

A Plot That
Has
Reacted

The unpardonable sin in diplomacy of this kind consists in being found out. If the United States should go to war with Germany because of submarine outrages, Germany would naturally like to have the American army and navy occupied with troubles in Mexico, Cuba, and Central America; and it would wish also to have us worried about Hawaii, the Philippines, and the possibility of trouble with Japan. But to be exposed in the actual plotting was an embarrassing thing for Herr Zimmerman; and it was bound to cause resentment in the West and South. It was this sudden new feeling against Germany that was relied upon to put the President's armed ship bill through Congress in the form in which it had been drawn up. And it was this fresh excitement which caused the momentary obscuring of the real facts about the legislative situation at Washington. Japan took occasion in every possible way to repudi-



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SOME PROMISE!

From the Evening World (New York)

ate all connection with the plot; and the result has been, if anything, a marked improvement in our relationships with our old-time friend across the Pacific. Mr. Fletcher, meanwhile, had gone to the Mexican capital as our Ambassador, and he was in a position to make some pointed inquiries of the Carranza *de facto* administration. Some days previous to the exposure of the Zimmerman note, General Carranza had taken it upon himself to send identic notes to all the American republics, including the United States, proposing that the Western Hemisphere should cease to send any supplies whatever to Europe, with a view to bringing about an immediate peace.

A Clearer
Atmosphere

In view of Carranza's unstable position, and the general anarchy still existing in many parts of Mexico, this international pose of assumed world leadership was as absurd as if it had come from the President of Santo Domingo. Nevertheless, President Wilson, late in March, sent General Carranza a reply that was a model of courtesy, pointing out the reasons why this country could not follow the proposed course, while not desiring to discourage the efforts of any other country to end the European war. That a good deal of German plotting had been going on in Mexico, and that the Carranza Government had been under German influences, seems quite probable. After the breaking-off of diplomatic relations, large numbers of Germans left the United States and went to Mexico. In case of active war between this country and Germany, it is likely enough that efforts would be organized by Germans south of

the Rio Grande to abet Germany and harm the United States. While the idea of yielding three of our southern-tier States to Mexico, and some of our Pacific Coast States to Japan, has not created any alarm in the United States, it has illustrated afresh the madness of German statesmanship as respects the territorial integrity of other nations. Whatever their sympathies may have been as between Germany and the British Empire, the Americans of German origin who are citizens of the United States are now fully pro-American when it comes to an issue between this country and the ruling authorities of the German Empire. One learns that these American citizens of German origin everywhere are holding to the view that the German people ought to follow the example of the Russians and get rid of their political and military masters. Americans continue to wish for the German people a happy and prosperous future. But they are wholly out of sympathy with an intriguing and plotting imperial policy that has brought profound misery upon the German nation as a whole. Thus the Berlin diplomacy has cleared the American atmosphere. If Uncle Sam goes fully into the war, it will not be with hatred toward the German people, but to aid in their earlier emancipation.



THIS IS WHAT GERMANY SHOULD REPUDIATE!
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

War and the President's Power

The need of a Congressional session was so imperative that the President finally designated April 16 as the date. Later, on March 21, he issued a new call for April 2. Meanwhile the President had satisfied himself that he already possessed the power that he had asked the expiring Congress to grant to him, and it was duly announced that the Navy Department would proceed to mount modern guns on American merchant ships destined for European waters, including those carrying ammunition to the Allies, and that these ships would be provided with gunners from the navy, with whom would rest the discretionary power to sink German submarines and thereupon to precipitate war in the full sense. There are many people who have thought and still think that a plain declaration of war, for good and sufficient reasons, is much better than the pursuing of a course which indirectly but inevitably brings war to pass. The Constitution of the United States places the war power completely in the hands of Congress. But Mr. Wilson, in a lecture some years ago (before he entered political life) on the powers of the President, showed how the President could render nugatory the authority of Congress by so conducting the business of the nation as to make war inevitable, Congress having no choice but to sustain situations that the President himself had created. In the present case, however, Germany is responsible.

Making War a Certainty

It is probable that our official arming of private munition ships carrying war freight for Allied governments—which in the moral sense is as direct a participation in the war as if we were sending regiments to the front in France—will have made grim war a reality by the time Congress is on the scene at Washington. This is what the metropolitan newspapers desire; and because great bodies of the people of the country have not been eager for hostilities, they are denounced by the editors of these newspapers as lacking in patriotism. When war comes, however, it will not be the metropolitan editors, but these millions of peace-loving people, who will stand by the country and show the pluck and courage of Americans. Being possessed of a good deal of shrewd common sense, they like to be convinced that war is necessary before going into it. It happens that they are merely Americans, while the war press is impelled by less simple motives. But patriotism will not fail.

**Beginning
to Prepare**

One thing, however, is becoming clear to all sensible people, and that is the dire necessity of preparation for war. There has been so much talk about preparation that some people are deluded into supposing that things have been done. It is more than two years and a half since it was pointed out that we have very few army rifles in reserve. The most limited intelligence, in view of what has happened in the world, might have demanded that the United States have by the beginning of 1917 not less than 5,000,000 rifles, with ample ammunition in reserve. We have talked about armies and have been voting far more money for military and naval purposes than Germany or France spends in normal times. Yet we have not recruited our very small regular army up to the normal limit; and the National Guard is virtually going to pieces as a result of the Hay bill and the injustice and bad management of the mobilization on the Mexican frontier. Through General Wood's personal effort, with a certain amount of co-operation, there will be a good deal of voluntary training in camps this summer. But, broadly speaking, nothing worth mentioning is being done to create an army for the United States; and—considering the emergency—we have done very little to bring about naval preparedness. We have a great many excellent people of all ages who have been inventorying themselves and assigning their pleasant homes to hospital uses in case of war. This is all as charming and quixotic,



Photograph by American Press Association

A MERCHANT SHIP ARMED FOR SUBMARINES

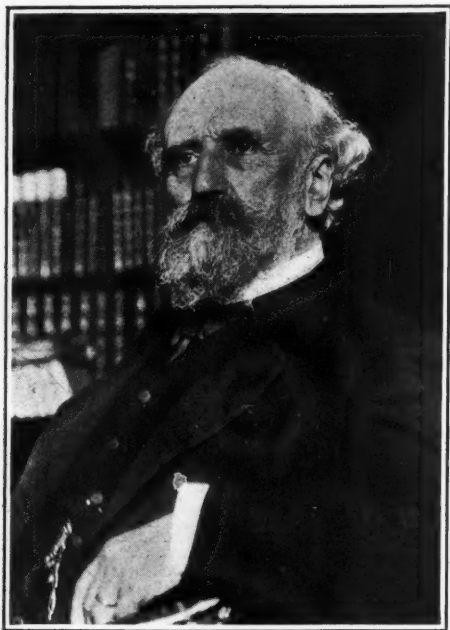
so far as real preparedness goes, as similar forms of procedure would be at the present moment if pursued in Corea. In a number of our colleges there are battalions of students taking military drill one hour a day. They are, of course, without uniforms; and let nobody suppose that they drill with rifles, because none are available for them. In scope and in results this college work cannot amount to as much in half a year as is accomplished in a single week of the training at Plattsburg. It is good as far as it goes, but under existing conditions it will not go far to create an army of defense. Emergency naval funds voted by Congress began to be brought into use late in March; and in about six months from now we shall have some preparation against the submarine menace.



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A RECENT PICTURE OF WILLING RECRUITS OF THE TRAINING-CAMP TYPE, DRILLING WITH BROOMSTICKS BECAUSE NO RIFLES WERE AVAILABLE

(The scene is on Governor's Island, New York Harbor, the headquarters of the military department of the East)



M. ALEXANDRE RIBOT

(The veteran French statesman who succeeds Aristide Briand as Prime Minister)

*Politics in
France and
England*

Recent political dissension in France and England is not to be regarded as indicating weakness or demoralization. In neither country has there been an election for several years. Both are so thoroughly committed to the prosecution of the war that it might now be a help rather than a hindrance if new parliaments were chosen. In France, General Lyautey's management of the war department failed to reckon with the need of dealing with the chambers; and so Lyautey insisted upon resigning. Briand in turn decided to retire as Prime Minister, and Ribot, who had been Minister of Finance, takes Briand's place. The Cabinet rearrangement caused little comment and involved no crisis. In England, the insistence of the Irish Nationalists upon Home Rule without further delay has come at an unfortunate time and has caused deep bitterness. Mr. Lloyd George's control was somewhat shaken last month, and there may be Parliamentary elections in the near future. It was hoped, however, that the colonial premiers now in London might assist in finding a solution of the Irish problem that Mr. Redmond and his followers could consistently accept.

*Cuba's
Flurry*

The Cuban insurrection of a month's duration in February and March is described on page 413 of this REVIEW. While the situation in some features resembled the crisis of 1906, American intervention was not needed, since President Menocal was able to suppress the revolt by the use of Cuban troops. Evidence of German plots in aid of the insurgents was discovered, but the importance of these was probably overestimated. The capture and imprisonment of Gomez, the head and front of the rebellion, seemed to remove all menace of further disturbance. President Menocal has signified his complete satisfaction with the course of the United States throughout the uprising. In this instance, at least, American diplomacy has nothing to regret. Meanwhile Cuba continues prosperous, as the article on sugar industry (page 409) clearly indicates. Our Congress that came to an end last month will be notable in history for its legislation relating to the West Indies. Bills appropriating money for the purchase of the Danish Islands and providing a temporary government for those new possessions were passed, and one of the measures signed by President Wilson in the closing days of the Congress was the bill giving citizenship to the residents of Porto Rico. In a special message to the Porto Rican legislature on March 7 Governor Yager addressed the members for the first time as "fellow-citizens of the United States."

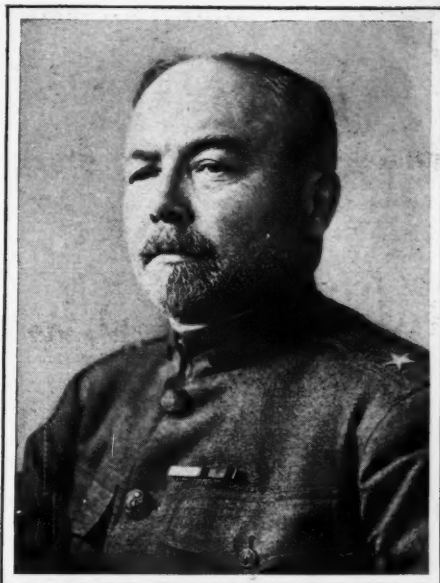
*Mexico's
New
Government*

Another chapter in Mexican history opened with the promulgation in February of the new constitution and the election in March of General Carranza as the first President under that constitution. Under the terms of the fundamental law General Carranza was chosen for a four-year term, dating from December 1, 1916. The constitution itself does not go into effect in its entirety until May 1 of this year. On that day it is planned to have all federal, state, and municipal officials elected to enforce it properly. At that time Congress will be convened in regular session and the new President will take the oath of office and be formally inaugurated. The new form of government involves some changes of a radical nature in the body politic. Churches and religious organizations of every kind are seriously affected. While the constitution concedes to individuals the right to profess any religious belief, it also provides

for an official supervision of the exercise of that right which will to a great extent nullify the right itself. There are also rigid restrictions on immigration. The attempt to operate the government of Mexico under this new charter is really of more interest to the world than the election of General Carranza, which was, of course, a foregone conclusion. There were no opposing candidacies worthy of the name.

The Railroad Settlement

The railroad situation became critical again last month, through the announced determination of the heads of the four brotherhoods (engineers, firemen, conductors, and trainmen) to precipitate a strike on Saturday, March 17. President Wilson sent a committee, including Secretaries Lane and Wilson, to impress upon the roads and the men the need of coming to agreement by reason of the threatened war situation. The railroads finally conceded the more substantial part of the claims. On Monday, the 19th, the Supreme Court handed down its decision in the matter of the railroad Eight Hour Law, enacted last September as a means of averting the strike that was then impending. This law had fixed an eight-hour basic day, without reduction of existing rates of payment and with overtime allowed after eight hours. It was estimated that this would involve an increase of pay, for the four classes of labor, of something like \$60,000,000 a year. In November, United States Circuit Judge Hook, at Kansas City, found the law unconstitutional, and it went to the Supreme Court on appeal. Of the eight Associate Justices, four supported the validity of the measure and four sustained Judge Hook. Chief Justice White upheld the law, which is therefore sustained by a 5 to 4 decision. The two new members of the court, Justices Brandeis and Clarke, were with the Chief Justice, as were Justices Holmes and McKenna. Those dissenting were Justices Pitney, Vandevanter, Day, and McReynolds. The opinions of Mr. Hughes are well known, so that it may fairly be said that if he had remained on the bench this important issue would have been settled the other way. It is also just to remark that the decision came as a surprise to a great majority of lawyers and students of the questions involved. We prefer to postpone for another month a discussion of the legal arguments, and a statement regarding the practical applications.

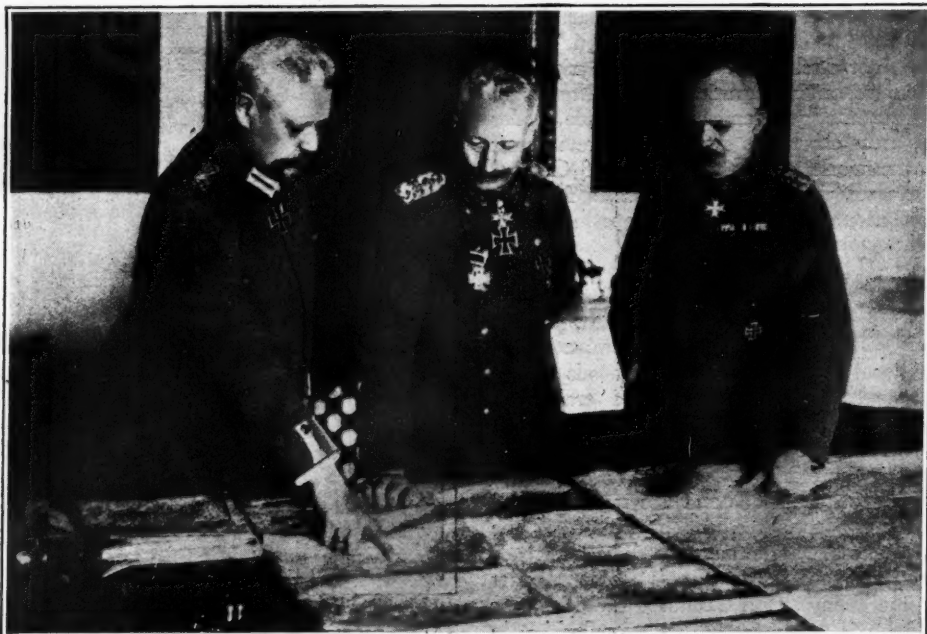


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MAJOR-GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON, COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN FORCES ON THE MEXICAN BORDER

General Funston

A few weeks before his death, on February 19, at San Antonio, Tex., Maj-Gen. Frederick Funston had commanded the largest body of American soldiers that had been assembled under one officer since the Civil War. It is worthy of record, too, that he abundantly "made good" in that post, winning the respect and esteem of "regulars" and guardsmen alike. Funston was admirably adapted to the difficult task of "licking into shape" and officering the American militiamen, and the rarer the material the better the little Kansan succeeded. The Twentieth Kansas, of Philippine fame, was trained by Funston into a model regiment, of unexcelled efficiency, and gave a brilliant account of itself in many engagements. Sometimes achievements of this sort are overshadowed by more spectacular deeds, like the capture of Aguinaldo, which made General Funston a popular hero before his return from the Philippines; but in these times it is well to remember that the commander who can make soldiers out of American boys from the farm and the workshop and the college is the man who will always be most useful to the army and the nation, irrespective of individual heroism. For that reason the loss of a general with Funston's tried capacity is a grievous one at this moment of crisis.



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THE THREE MASTER MINDS OF GERMANY

Kaiser Wilhelm (in the center), Field Marshal von Hindenburg, supreme commander of the armies of the Teutonic allies (on the left), and General von Ludendorff—who is credited with dictatorial powers over the affairs of Germany (on the right)—in consultation over the war maps.



Photograph from Central News

BRITISH TRANSPORTS ON THE TIGRIS RIVER

(The photograph shows a barge carrying railway engines to be used in the eastward advance of the British forces from Bagdad over the railroads of Asia Minor)

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From February 16 to March 20, 1917)

The Last Part of February

February 16.—The American Commission for Relief in Belgium is notified (according to a Rotterdam dispatch) that the German authorities will permit Americans to continue in charge of the work as heretofore.

Great Britain announces certain modifications in the mine zone in the North Sea, slightly reducing the area.

A new British Order in Council declares that vessels proceeding to or from neutral countries affording access to enemy territory, without calling at a port in British or Allied territory, "shall be deemed to be carrying goods with enemy destination or of enemy origin" and shall be liable to capture and condemnation.

February 17.—The British advance their position on both sides of the Ancre, 1000 yards on a front of one and a half miles.

A further British success on the Tigris is chronicled by the British, including the capture of 2000 Turks.

February 19.—The Australian cabinet is reorganized on a coalition basis, William M. Hughes remaining as Premier.

February 20.—Submarine destruction of merchant ships is estimated by the British embassy at Washington to be "less than one ship for every 100 which arrived at or left British ports during the two weeks from February 1 to February 14."

It is unofficially estimated that one-third of the inhabitants of Great Britain are either employed by or supported by the state.

February 21.—In a collision off the Isle of Wight, a transport carrying a contingent of South African native laborers from England to France is sunk, with a loss of 625 lives.

February 22.—It is reported that 50 leaders of the Sinn Fein and the Gaelic League have been arrested in Dublin and other parts of Ireland.

A fleet of seven Dutch steamships (valued with their cargoes at more than \$10,000,000) is destroyed by a German submarine outside the British port of Falmouth; the owners had been assured by Germany of "relative safety."

February 23.—In order to meet the serious food situation created by Germany's submarine campaign, Premier Lloyd George announces drastic measures to increase home production and to curtail imports.

The German Reichstag votes a new war credit of 15,000,000,000 marks, bringing the total to 67,000,000,000 (\$16,750,000,000).

February 24.—The Greek General Staff announces that 15,800 troops, with large quantities of rifles and ammunition, have been transferred from continental Greece to Peloponnesus, south of the Isthmus of Corinth (in accordance with the demands of the Entente Powers); the 800 Greek

troops who surrendered to the Bulgarian-German forces at Kavala remain interned at Goeritz.

February 25.—The Germans begin a withdrawal from their positions in the Ancre district, after many weeks of constant pressure by the British; the withdrawal is toward Bapaume, over a front of eleven miles.

Kut-el-Amara, on the Tigris River in Arabia, is captured from the Turks by a British force under General Maude, after a campaign begun on December 13; the position had been lost to the Turks by the surrender of General Townshend's force on April 28, 1916.

The Cunard liner *Laconia* is torpedoed and sunk without warning at night, off the Irish coast; 12 persons, including two American women, are drowned or die from exposure.

February 26.—The Chancellor of the British Exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, announces that the "victory" loan, recently closed, yielded \$5,000,000,000 in new money from 5,289,000 subscribers.

President Wilson appears before Congress and asks authority to arm merchant ships; he declares that an "overt act" by German submarine commanders has not yet occurred [the *Laconia* incident had not become known].

An official German estimate of shipping destroyed by submarines during January places the total at 170 enemy vessels of 336,000 tons, besides 58 neutral vessels of 103,500 tons; since the beginning of the war 4,357,500 enemy merchant tonnage has been destroyed and 641,000 in neutral tonnage.

German destroyers bombarded the English sea-coast resorts of Broadstairs and Margate.

February 27.—Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg addresses the German Reichstag on the crisis with America; he declares that the United States Government has submitted to complete isolation from Germany while jealously guarding the right of its citizens to trade with and travel in France and England, "even through the midst of the battlefield"; the severance of diplomatic relations and the attempt to mobilize all neutrals against Germany will not promote peace but will encourage the attempt to starve Germany.

The Danish steamer *Frederik VIII*, bearing Count von Bernstorff, former German Ambassador to the United States, leaves Halifax after eleven days' detention and search by the British authorities.

February 28.—The Associated Press makes public at Washington the contents of the note signed by Zimmermann, Germany Secretary of Foreign Affairs, addressed to the German Ambassador to Mexico, proposing an alliance with Mexico in the event of war between Germany and the United States; Mexico is to receive financial support and to be compensated with New Mexico, Texas and Arizona; the note suggests that Japan be invited to adhere to the plan.

The First Week of March

March 1.—The end of the first month of Germany's intensified submarine warfare shows (in British reports) a total of 188 vessels destroyed, of 490,000 tonnage; this compares with 322,000 tons sunk during January and 347,000 tons during December.

The British report that during February ten villages in the Ancre sector were either captured or surrendered by the Germans.

March 2.—Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Viscount Motono, states that no proposal has been received from Mexico or Germany, directly or indirectly, to join in a possible war against the United States; he characterizes the idea as ridiculous.

March 3.—Foreign Secretary Zimmermann defends his plan to enlist Mexican and Japanese aid against the United States, as operative only in case the United States declared war.

The Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations, Gen. Candido Aguilar, makes formal denial that his Government had ever been approached by Germany with the object of forming an alliance against the United States.

Hamadan, an important Persian city near the Turkish frontier (240 miles northeast of Bagdad), is captured by the Russians; the city had been held by the Turks since August.

Field Marshal Arz von Straussenberg becomes Chief of Staff in the Austro-Hungarian army, succeeding Field Marshal von Hoetzendorf.

Important Danish and Norwegian steamship lines announce that they will not carry passengers across the Atlantic while the submarine and mine danger is so acute.

March 4.—It becomes known that the British have taken over from the French the entire Somme front; the British now hold approximately 100 miles, the French 175 miles, and the Belgians 25 miles.

Premier Tuan Chi-jui and his cabinet decide that China should sever diplomatic relations with Germany, and offer their resignations when President Li Yuan-hung refuses to permit the cabinet to act.

March 5.—The Swedish cabinet under Premier Hammarsjold resigns, following the refusal of parliament to grant an appropriation of 30,000,000 crowns for the preservation of neutrality.

The Turkish Finance Minister is reported as stating that German advances to Turkey will reach a total of \$625,000,000 by August; in return Turkey will favor her allies in trade after the war.

Official British figures of British merchant ships destroyed by mines or submarines during February place the total at 94, besides 29 fishing vessels.

March 6.—The United States receives a reply to requests for information regarding extent to which Austria-Hungary will follow the German plan to sink merchant ships without warning; the reply is an argument in justification of the Teutonic claim that neutrals should not use enemy ships and that a general warning is sufficient.

The United States Supreme Court unanimously decides that the captured British steamer *Appam*

was brought into an American port by a German prize crew, in February, 1916, in violation of American neutrality.

March 7.—The Irish Nationalist members in the House of Commons present a resolution calling for the immediate application of the Home Rule law; the Government replies that Home Rule will not be forced upon Ulster.

The British official report indicates that an expedition is making progress in Palestine, across the Sinai Desert from Egypt.

The Second Week of March

March 8.—The report of a special commission investigating the disastrous Dardanelles campaign is made at London; it exposes conditions in the earlier War Council, dominated by the late Lord Kitchener, which resulted in expert naval advice being neither asked for nor offered.

British cavalry pursuing the Turkish army defeated at Kut-el-Amara arrive within six miles of Bagdad, passing Ctesiphon, where the first British expedition had been decisively defeated on November 27, 1915.

Count Ferdinand Zeppelin, creator of the great German airships, dies of illness near Berlin.

The American seamen captured on British vessels and brought to Germany on the *Yarrowdale* are finally released and sent to Switzerland; they had been held in quarantine for three weeks.

March 9.—Produce exchanges in English cities, under supervision of the Food Controller, formulate lists of maximum prices for bacon, butter, cheese, and lard.

March 10.—Figures made public at London show that nearly 750,000 disabled men, widows, children, and other dependents are drawing pensions or separation allowances from the British Government.

A London woman, her daughter, and her son-in-law are found guilty of conspiring to poison Premier Lloyd George.

March 10-11.—The Chinese Senate and House approve the severance of relations with Germany, upon the solicitation of Premier Tuan Chi-jui, who had secured the consent of President Li Yuan-hung.

March 11.—Rioting in Petrograd assumes the proportions of a revolution; the disturbances began over temporary shortage of food and continued for three days, with sympathetic strikes in munition factories, and finally with the mutiny of the troops in the capital.

Bagdad, the most important city of Mesopotamia, and terminus of Germany's great railway project, is captured by British troops under General Frederick Stanley Maude after a pursuit of 110 miles in ten days.

The Russian Minister of Finance estimates that the war is costing Russia \$23,000,000 a day.

Statistics carefully compiled at Washington indicate a death toll in the war of 4,441,200 men, with 2,598,500 wounded and 2,564,500 captured and missing; the losses of the Entente Powers in killed are estimated at 2,890,400 and those of the Central Powers at 1,550,800.

The Bureau of Navigation at Washington announces that between July 1, 1914, and February 28, 1917, 204 ships of 665,000 tons were added to

American registry, and 405 ships of 314,000 tons transferred to foreign ownership.

March 12.—The Russian Duma meets in defiance of the Czar's decree of dissolution, and assumes direction of the revolutionary movement; it informs the Czar that internal reforms must be granted and the present cabinet dismissed; the new leaders in Russia are those who favor more energetic prosecution of the war, while the old are charged with pro-German leanings.

The United States gives formal notice to the world that it has decided to place an armed guard on all American merchant vessels sailing through the areas barred by Germany.

Official statistics of exports from the port of New York during February show a decrease of nearly \$80,000,000 as compared with January—principally as a result of the submarine menace.

March 14.—The French Minister of War, General Lyautey, resigns his office as a result of incidents in the Chamber of Deputies.

The German Minister to China is handed his passports, on the ground that the German reply to China's submarine protest is unsatisfactory.

The Third Week of March

March 15.—Czar Nicholas II abdicates the throne of Russia for himself and his son in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch.

A new cabinet is formed in Russia, with Prince Georges E. Lvoff as Premier, President of the Council, and Minister of the Interior, and Paul N. Milyukoff as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The British Chancellor of the Exchequer introduces in the House of Commons a supplementary vote of credit for \$320,000,000 (the amount voted February 12 had been expected to last until March 31); the total authorization for the year ending March 31 is \$10,000,000,000.

March 16.—The Executive Committee of the Russian Duma announces a policy of reform com-

prising universal suffrage; liberty of press, speech, and religion; general amnesty; and the abolition of the secret-police system.

Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch renounces the throne of Russia until such time as a constituent assembly, on a basis of universal suffrage, shall establish a form of government.

The United States informs President Carranza of Mexico that it cannot participate in his plan of pan-American refusal to sell munitions to the warring nations of Europe.

March 17.—British and French pressure on the German line results in the recovery of French territory along a front of 60 miles, extending from Bapaume on the northwest to the Oise River; Bapaume itself, for three weeks the particular objective of the British, is captured.

The French cabinet under Premier Briand (formed in October, 1915, and reorganized in December, 1916) resigns after attacks on its economic policy in the Chamber of Deputies.

March 17-18.—German submarines sink three American steamships.

March 18.—Foreign Minister Milyukoff announces that the new régime in Russia is resolved to fight by the side of the empire's allies, against the common enemy, until the end.

German estimates of merchant shipping destroyed in February place the total at 386 ships, of 781,500 tons.

March 19.—It is unofficially estimated that the Germans have evacuated 1300 square miles of French territory within three days, from Arras to Soissons—a front of more than 100 miles.

Alexandre Ribot (Minister of Finance in the Briand cabinet) forms a new French ministry based upon the old; Paul Painlevé becomes Minister of War.

March 20.—French advance forces arrive within four miles of St. Quentin and La Fère, which form the line behind which the Germans may halt their withdrawal.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From February 16 to March 20, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 16-17.—Both branches approve the conference report on the bill creating a federal board to promote vocational education.

February 19.—The House passes the bill carrying out the provisions of the treaty for the purchase of the Danish West Indies.

February 20.—In the Senate, the Porto Rican Government and Danish West Indies measures are passed, also a drastic espionage bill.

February 21.—The House adopts the Senate measure forbidding shipment of intoxicating liquors into States which prohibit the manufacture and sale of such liquors; thus 19 States will become "bone dry."

February 22.—The House passes the Army appropriation bill, carrying \$250,000,000.

February 24.—In the Senate, a Republican filibuster against the Emergency Revenue measure

is ended. . . . The House appropriates \$400,000 for an inquiry by the Federal Trade Commission into the food situation.

February 26.—Both branches assemble in joint session and are addressed by the President, who asks for "supporting authority in the most general terms," to safeguard neutral rights through armed neutrality; he asks specifically for authority to supply merchant ships with defensive arms.

The Senate passes the bill appropriating \$45,000,000 for the control of floods of the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers; the measure is characterized by its opponents as "pork."

February 27.—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations agrees upon a measure authorizing the President to supply merchant vessels with "defensive arms, fore and aft" and empowering him to "employ such other instrumentalities and methods" as may seem necessary to protect vessels and citizens of the United States on the high

seas; \$100,000,000 is appropriated for such purposes. . . . In the House, the Rules Committee presents a unanimous report upon its investigation of the "leak" (which permitted advance news of the President's message to the belligerents to reach stock-market operators), and finds that two newspaper correspondents were responsible.

February 28.—The Senate passes the Emergency Revenue measure in the form in which it came from the House. . . . The House, by vote of 273 to 137, passes the Senate bill making the District of Columbia "dry" from November 1; the President's Armed Ship bill is reported from committee, without granting authority to employ "other instrumentalities."

March 1.—The Senate is informed by the President, in response to inquiry, that the German note inviting Mexico to enter into a possible war against the United States "is authentic and that it is in the possession of the Government. . . . The House, by vote of 403 to 13, passes the bill empowering the President to arm merchant ships; the conference report on the Post Office appropriation bill (\$350,000,000) is agreed to, carrying an amendment forbidding the shipment of liquor into prohibition States.

March 2.—The Senate approves the conference report on the Post Office appropriation bill.

March 4.—Both branches adopt the conference report on the Naval bill, carrying appropriations of \$535,000,000, authorizing a bond issue of \$150,000,000 to hasten naval construction, and providing for 38 new submarines. . . . The second and final session of the Sixty-fourth Congress comes to an end without action by the Senate on the Army, Sundry Civil, General Deficiency, Rivers and Harbors, and Military Academy appropriation bills; 11 members, under the leadership of Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) and Mr. Stone (Dem., Mo.), prevent a vote upon the President's bill for the arming of merchant ships and for the granting of blanket powers.

March 5.—The Senate of the Sixty-fifth Congress meets in special session; sixteen new members take their seats.

March 6.—In the Senate, a joint committee of Republican and Democratic members agrees upon a modification of existing rules, which would provide for closing debate when ordered by a two-thirds majority, after which each member is permitted one hour for discussion.

March 8.—The Senate, by vote of 76 to 3, abandons its long-standing rule permitting unlimited debate.

March 13.—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations de-

cides to report favorably the treaty with Colombia with amendments; Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) votes with the Democratic majority.

March 15.—The Senate begins discussion of the proposed treaty with Colombia, offering apology, indemnity, and special rights in the Panama Canal.

March 16.—The special session of the Senate comes to an end unexpectedly, when agreement on a treaty with Colombia seems improbable.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 16.—The President nominates Representative Thomas G. Patten to be postmaster at New York, ending a political controversy extending over several years.

February 17.—The War Department orders the demobilization of the National Guard units remaining along the Mexican border.

February 19.—The President nominates ex-Gov. John Franklin Fort, of New Jersey, and William B. Colver, of Minnesota, as members of the Federal Trade Commission.

February 22.—The Maine legislature adopts unanimously a joint resolution providing for the submission of a woman-suffrage amendment at a special election on September 10.

February 23.—The War Department makes public a plan prepared by the Army General Staff, providing for universal military service and training; eleven months' training is to be given to boys in their nineteenth year, who then pass into a reserve for eleven years, with two weeks' training in each of the first and second years. . . . The Utah legislature takes action to sustain the constitutionality of the prohibition law recently passed and signed by the Governor, effective August 1.

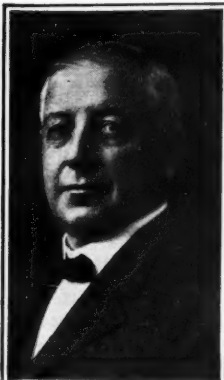
February 26.—A plan to permit the Federal Trade Commission to fix the price of news-print paper is agreed upon by manufacturers and publishers.

February 28.—Governor Goodrich signs a bill passed by the Indiana legislature extending the suffrage to women in Presidential elections.

March 3.—Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, is elected chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Council of National Defense.

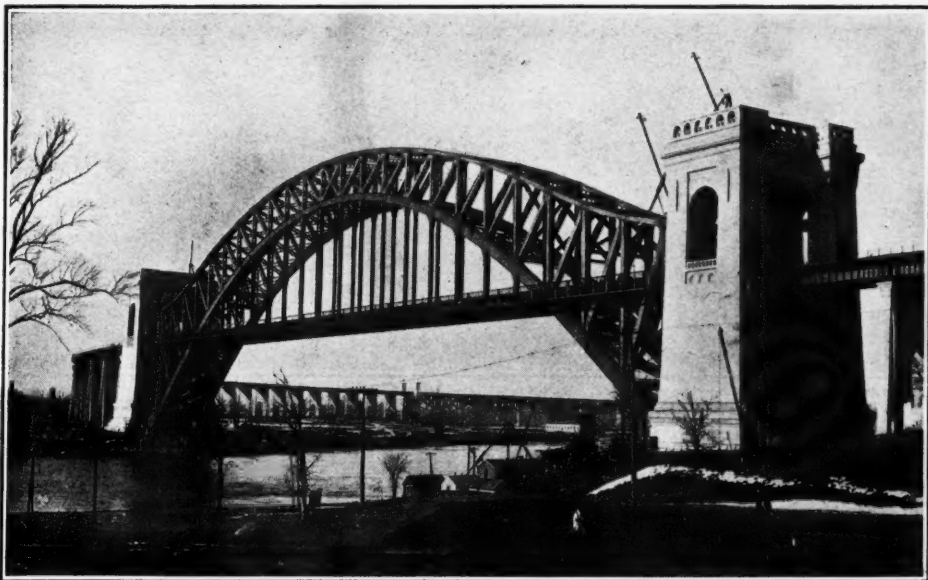
March 4.—Woodrow Wilson informally takes the oath of office for his second term as President of the United States. . . . The President issues a statement declaring that the filibustering tactics of eleven Senators in the closing days of the session, in preventing a vote on the armed ship bill, has rendered the Government helpless and contemptible; "the only remedy is that the rules of the Senate shall be so altered that it can act."

March 5.—Woodrow Wilson takes public oath of office; in his inaugural address he states anew his interpretation of the American principles of liberty and international peace, declares for an armed neutrality, and warns that the United States may be drawn on to a more active assertion of rights and a more immediate association with the great struggle itself. . . . The New York legislature, with only five opposing votes in both



HON. WM. D. STEPHENS.
GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA

(When Governor Johnson resigned, on March 15, to take his seat in the United States Senate, the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Stephens, became chief executive. He was a member of Congress (Republican) from 1911 to 1915)



Photograph by American Press Association

THE NEWEST BRIDGE ACROSS THE EAST RIVER, NEW YORK CITY

(This 1,000-foot span, the longest arch in the world, is over the dangerous channel at Hell Gate. Long Island City [a part of Greater New York] is on the right of the picture, with Ward's Island on the left. The structure turns, crosses that island, passes over water again to Randall's Island, and finally reaches mainland in the Borough of the Bronx. It is wholly a railroad bridge, part of a six-mile road connecting the Pennsylvania and New Haven systems and permitting through freight and passenger service between New England and the South. The structure was formally dedicated on March 9, took four years to build, and cost \$27,000,000. It makes the fifth bridge across the East River, all except the Brooklyn Bridge having been opened within the last twelve years)

Houses, passes an amendment to the military training law, extending to working boys the provisions of the 1916 law requiring compulsory military training between the ages of 16 and 19.

March 6.—The Supreme Court annuls the 5 per cent. rebate clause in the Underwood tariff, applicable to goods imported in American bottoms; the provision was designed to aid in building up a merchant marine, but is held by the court to conflict with existing treaties. . . . Governor Brough signs the bill passed by the Arkansas legislature, extending to women the right to vote in party primaries (the Democratic primary being usually equivalent to election).

March 8.—The War Department announces that during February 4852 men enlisted in the army; in six months the enlistments totaled 20,000.

March 9.—The President calls the Sixty-fifth Congress to meet in special session on April 16; it is stated at the White House that the President is convinced he has power to arm merchant ships, but that necessary legislation is pressing and he also desires the support of Congress.

March 10.—The United States Circuit Court of Appeals at Kansas City holds that control of the Central Pacific Railroad by the Southern Pacific is not illegal.

March 12.—A conference of trade-union leaders, at Washington, adopts resolutions pledging the support of labor in the event of war. . . . The New York Senate, following action by the House, agrees to submit a woman-suffrage amendment to the voters at the 1917 election.

March 13.—Governors of the six New England States meet at Boston to discuss measures of national defense.

March 15.—Lieut.-Gov. William D. Stephens (Rep.) becomes Governor of California, upon the resignation of Hiram W. Johnson to take his seat in the United States Senate. . . . The Navy Department awards contracts for the construction, by private builders, of four battle cruisers and six scout cruisers, involving an expenditure of \$112,000,000 for hulls and machinery alone.

March 19.—The President authorizes the Secretary of the Navy to spend the \$115,000,000 emergency fund authorized by Congress.

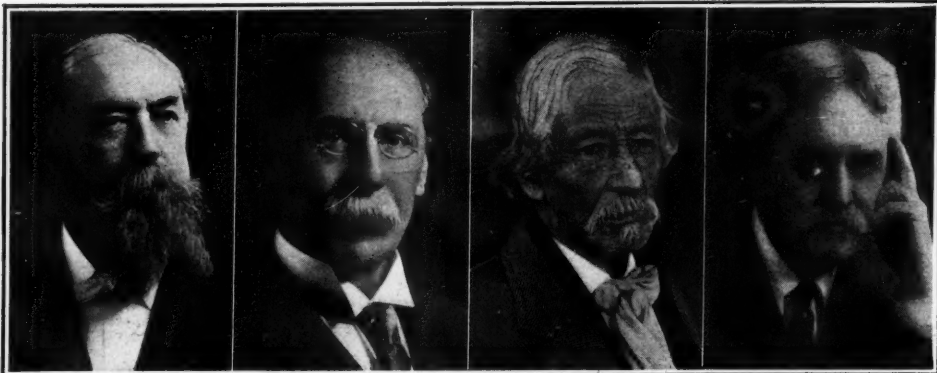
March 20.—American copper producers offer to supply 45,510,000 pounds of copper to the War and Navy Departments at less than half the market price.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 7.—Ex-President José Miguel Gomez, the leader of the Cuban revolutionist movement, is captured by Government forces after a battle near Placetas, in Camaguey Province.

March 8.—American marines are landed at Santiago, Cuba, at the request of the civil government; the revolutionist forces withdraw to the interior, with the avowed purpose of conducting guerrilla warfare.

March 11.—Elections are held in Mexico for President and for members of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate; Venustiano Carranza is elected President without opposition.



© Harris & Ewing

CYRUS A. SULLOWAY

GEORGE W. GUTHRIE

FRANKLIN B. SANBORN

WILLIAM B. HOWLAND

(Congressman Sulloway, who died on March 11, had been eleven times elected to the House of Representatives from a New Hampshire district. Mr. Guthrie died suddenly on March 8 at Tokio, having been appointed Ambassador to Japan in 1913. He was a prominent Pittsburgh lawyer and former Mayor. Mr. Sanborn, who died on February 24, was a noted New England Abolitionist in the period preceding the Civil War, and had since become famous as an historian and biographer. Mr. Howland was publisher of the *Outlook* from 1890 to 1913, when he transferred his activities to the *Independent*. He died suddenly on February 27)

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 27.—A rear-end collision between a passenger and a freight train on the Pennsylvania Railroad, at Mount Union, Pa., causes the death of 20 passengers.

March 4.—Ten men in the Coast Guard Service lose their lives in an attempt to rescue the crew of a steamer aground off Ocean City, Md.

March 11.—Nineteen persons are killed by a tornado destroying 200 homes in Newcastle, Ind.

March 12.—A strike is called on seven Eastern railroads, beginning March 17, by representatives of the brotherhoods of engineers, firemen, trainmen, and conductors; the men decline to wait beyond that date for concessions by the managers or for a favorable decision by the Supreme Court in the matter of the constitutionality of the Eight-Hour Law. . . . The rise in retail food prices throughout the United States is estimated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to have amounted to 19 per cent. in the year ended January 15, with advances in every staple except coffee and tea.

March 19.—The railroad managers, in view of the international crisis, agree to most of the demands of the brotherhoods and grant the eight-hour basis of pay. . . . The Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the railroad Eight-Hour Law, four justices dissenting.

OBITUARY

February 17.—Rt.-Rev. Samuel Cook Edsall, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of Minnesota, 57. . . . Edward Dyer Peters, professor of metallurgy at Harvard, 67. . . . Sir Benjamin Franklin, a distinguished British surgeon, 72.

February 18.—Ezekiel de Baca, Governor of New Mexico, 62.

February 19.—Major-Gen. Frederick Funston, U. S. A., commanding the Southern Department, 51 (see page 359). . . . Rear-Adm. Alexander Berry Bates, U. S. N., retired, 75.

February 21.—Rev. Charles H. McKenna, the noted Catholic missionary and preacher, 82.

February 24.—Franklin B. Sanborn, the historian and biographer, last of the Abolitionists, 85.

February 25.—Prof. John Edward Russell, professor of philosophy at Williams College, 69.

February 27.—William Bailey Howland, publisher of the *Independent*, 67.

February 28.—Robert P. Porter, a widely known American journalist, director of the Eleventh Census, and an authority on tariff matters, 65.

. . . Captain John Wallace ("Jack") Crawford, Chief of Scouts during Indian campaigns, and widely known as a poet and lecturer, 70.

March 1.—Col. William Barbour, prominent in the thread and flax industries, and noted advocate of a protective tariff, 59.

March 2.—Michael F. Conry, Representative in Congress from New York City, 46.

March 4.—Albert Beck Wenzell, the illustrator, 53. . . . Colonel Walter Katte, constructor of railroads and bridges, 87.

March 8.—Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin, creator of the great German dirigible balloons, 79 (see page 376). . . . George W. Guthrie, American Ambassador to Japan, 68.

March 11.—Cyrus Adams Sulloway, Representative in Congress from New Hampshire, 77.

. . . William J. Wallace, of New York, formerly presiding judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, 79.

March 14.—Zenas Ferry Moody, former Governor of Oregon, 84.

March 15.—Rear-Adm. Vincendon L. Cottman, U. S. N., retired, 65. . . . Dr. George Jacob Helmer, of New York, a pioneer in the practise of osteopathy, 51. . . . George Henry Frost, founder of the *Engineering News*, 79.

March 16.—John M. Studebaker, wagon manufacturer, 83.

March 19.—Brig.-Gen. Cyrus Swan Roberts, U. S. A., retired, 75. . . . Captain "Jack" Bonavita, the famous animal trainer.

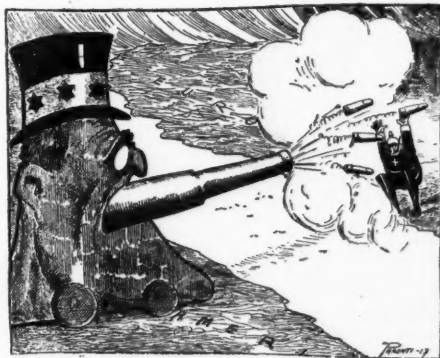
ACCEPTING THE CHALLENGE



OUTWARD BOUND
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)



TORPEDOING NEUTRALS
SUBMARINE COMMANDER: "Tell Wilson we do this
only to hasten the conclusion of peace!"
From *La Victoire* (Paris)



WILSON'S FINAL ARGUMENT TO GERMANY ON THE
SUBMARINE QUESTION
(As viewed in an Italian paper)
From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)



THE FIRE IS SPREADING

WILSON TO LANSING: "Unfortunately the fire has come to us; there is nothing to do but to fight it with energy."
From *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires, Argentine)



THE CARNIVAL

"How well we are going to enjoy the ball!"
From *Variedades* (Lima, Peru)

THE attitude of the neutral nations as to the new position of the United States with regard to the war is naturally of interest. These cartoons reflect some South American and Dutch opinion.



AMERICA'S ATTITUDE

UNCLE SAM: "You prefer this kind of intervention? All right!"

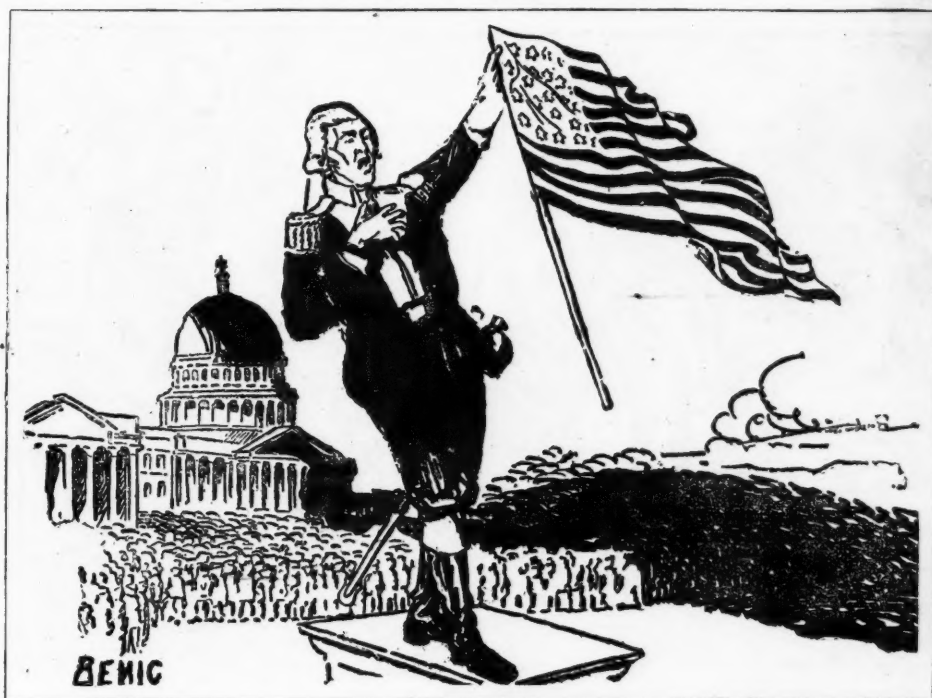
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



UNCLE SAM AROUSING THE NEUTRAL COUNTRIES

THE NATIONS OF AMERICA: "Quick, Uncle Sam, if it is for putting an end to the war, for the right to live, for Justice, for Liberty, for Civilization."

From *O Malho* (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)



AT WASHINGTON

SHADE OF LAFAYETTE: "Bravo! Wilson!!"

From *La Victoire* (Paris)

ADMIRAL VON TIRPITZ: "Do you really mean it this time, Sam?"

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

April—3

Since the break between the United States and Germany, the French and English cartoonists have credited Uncle Sam and President Wilson with far more courage and spirit than they did before.



THE LIMIT!

From the *Evening News* (London)



MAD DOG

"Give heed, neutrals, the beast is mad!!!"
From *La Victoire* (Paris)



THE AWAKENING

UNCLE SAM: "And I always thought, until now, it was a man!"
From *London Opinion* (London)



THE LAST THROW

From *Punch* (London)



HAULED DOWN FOR THE FIRST TIME
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

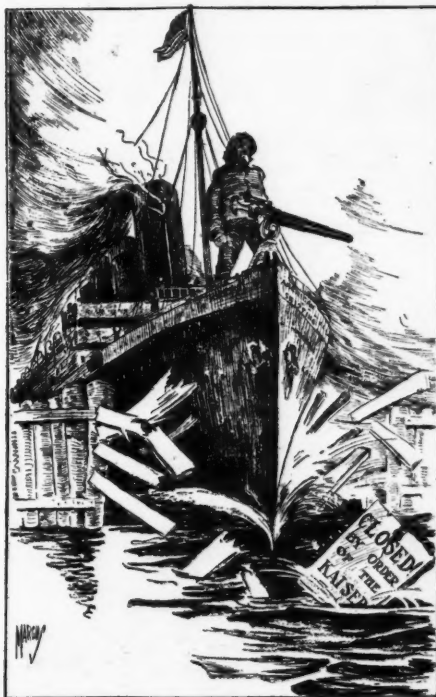
"Hauling down the flag" is what it seemed like to many citizens when the President's bill giving him authority to arm our merchant ships failed to pass the Senate. Our readers will find this Congressional episode discussed in the editorial pages of this issue.



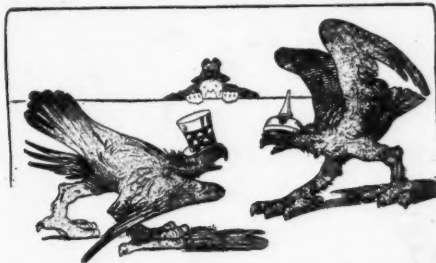
PUTTING THE JACK IN THE BOX
From the Oregonian (Portland)



"HERE IS YOUR AMBASSADOR!"
From L'illustrazione (Milan)



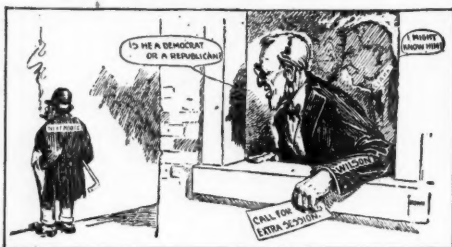
"DAMN THE TORPEDOES! GO AHEAD!"
From the Times (New York)



THE AMERICAN AND THE GERMAN EAGLES ABOUT TO CLASH
From O Mahlo (Rio de Janeiro)



WHAT WE WERE UP AGAINST
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus)



SIZING UP THE STRANGER
(Wilson is anxious to know whether the new Congress will be Republican or Democratic)
From the *News* (Chicago)



HELLO!!
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



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THE BEST PEACE INSURANCE
From the *American* (New York)

With the nation on the verge of war, or, in the opinion of some eminent citizens, actually in a state of war, the subject of adequate preparations for defense becomes even more vital than ever before.



WELL PREPARED!
From the *Tribune* (New York)



THEY DO NOT HAVE THAT IN GERMANY—THAT FINE FRENCH GAIETY AMONG THE BRAVE "POILUS"
From *La Baionnette* (Paris)



PEACE—AND VERDUN
"There is the path to Peace!"
From *La Victoire* (Paris)



HE DIGS HIS OWN TOMB
From *Le Matin* (Paris)



ST. (LLOYD) GEORGE, THE MODERN DRAGON-SLAYER
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

The spirit of France, as shown by both "poilus" and people, shines bravely forth in the many cartoons, both in color and line work, that appear in the French periodicals.



AN ADVANTAGE AFTER ALL

GERMANY: "Good heavens! If only I were a mere agricultural state like Russia, I, too, could continue the war for another three years!"

From *Budilnik* (Moscow)

The question of "holding out" is viewed from both sides in Russian and German cartoons reproduced on this page.



THE ENTENTE PARROTS' CHORUS

LLOYD GEORGE: "They are all fine birds, but I have to keep cracking my whip over them."

From *Simplicissimus* © (Munich)



THE WRONG END FOR FEEDING

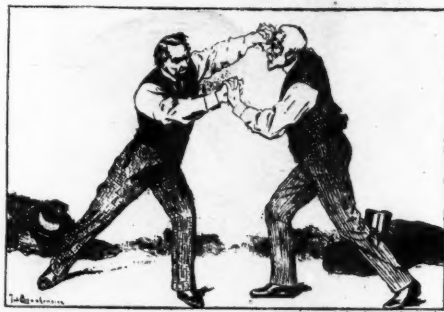
EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA: "Well! I'm going to try to get out of this beastly affair!! I can't exactly say I'm 'fed up', because he's taken deuced good care to get the *manger-end*, and what little corn there is going, doesn't come my way!!!"

From the *Sunday Evening Telegram* (London)



THE FRONTIER

WILHELM: "I wonder when I shall have done lugging this about?" From *Mucha* (Moscow)



THE STRUGGLE

LLOYD GEORGE
BETHMANN-HOLLWEG } "Kneel!!!"

From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)



BREAKING HIS SHACKLES
From the *Tribune* (New York)

The most momentous news of the past month dealt with the sudden overturn of the autocratic Russian government. This event was hailed as one of the greatest forward steps in the march of human progress.



GANGWAY!
From the *Evening News* (Newark)



© 1917 Press Publishing Co.

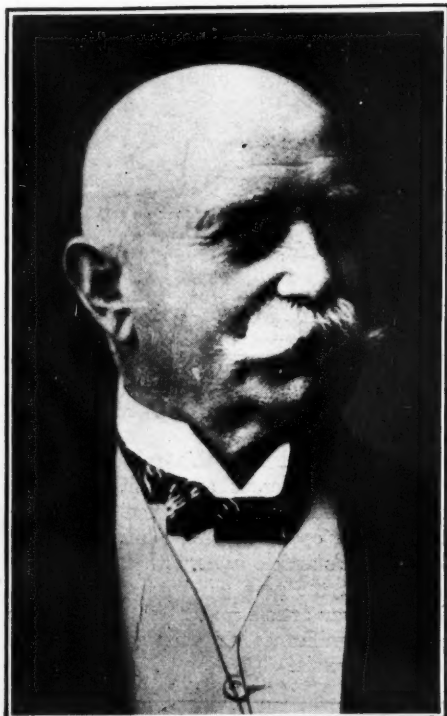
SOME BEAR!
From the *Evening World* (New York)

Our readers will find this subject treated from several different angles in this issue of the REVIEW. Editorial comment is contained in our opening pages, while Mr. Isaac Don Levine's article deals with the men and measures of the new government, and Mr. Simonds' war article makes reference to the military significance of the new order of things in Russia.



THE DUMA NOW HOLDS THE SCEPTRE
From the *Evening Post* (New York)

COUNT VON ZEPPELIN



© American Press Association

COUNT FERDINAND VON ZEPPELIN

COUNT VON ZEPPELIN, inventor and builder of the great dirigible balloons that bear his name, died at Charlottenburg, in Germany, on March 8, at the age of seventy-nine. The final stage of his nearly four score years of life saw his aerial cruisers fully tested under conditions of modern warfare and their military value duly appraised by the world.

As a weapon of offense and terror, the Zeppelin did not fulfill all the predictions of early war days, when the "great raid" over London that was to blow Britain's capital from its base was hourly expected. The national hopes were founded on the Kaiser's characterization of the Count as "the greatest German of the twentieth century." But if the military officials and the populace were disappointed in the Zeppelin as an exponent of "frightfulness," their inventor was undoubtedly aware of the limitations of his air-

ships. He had designed the great machines not for "participation in actual warfare," but "for observations of hostile fleets and armies."

And as a scouting instrument, the Zeppelin has done valuable service. The mighty British fleet in the North Sea has not been without its apprehensions of the danger from the air, and in the Jutland battle, the Zeppelins, hovering over the scene of the fighting, were in a position to discover the approach of the English dreadnought fleet and give timely warning to the endangered German cruisers.

Zeppelin did not, unfortunately, live to realize his latest dream, which was to pilot one of his airships across the Atlantic to the United States. He wished to visit again in this way the country where as a youth in his early twenties, during our Civil War, he had accompanied the Union armies as a military attaché from the Government of Würtemberg. He was then a lieutenant of cavalry. Zeppelin made his first balloon ascension at St. Paul. Later he took part in the Prussian campaigns against Austria, and the Franco-Prussian War. From the time he was a boy of eighteen, Zeppelin had studied aeronautics and made models of balloons. Retiring from the army in 1891 he devoted himself entirely to the building of airships, and launched his first dirigible in 1900.

Then followed years of perseverance, which saw the wrecking both of his airships and his fortunes, until in 1908 his greatest moment of triumph came. That year, in his fifth airship, Zeppelin made a flight lasting thirty-six hours and covering a stretch of 850 miles. He was hailed as "the conqueror of the air" and became not only a national hero, but a world figure. A Zeppelin passenger service was inaugurated between certain German cities, and successfully operated down to the breaking out of the war, when the big airships were promptly converted to military purposes.

Regardless of the temporary discredit surrounding Zeppelin's name, owing to the needless destruction wrought by his airships, or the disfavor of his own military authorities because they were not far more destructive, Zeppelin's fame is secure as a great pioneer in practical aeronautics.

GERMAN RETREAT IN FRANCE —BAGDAD—PETROGRAD

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. ON THE WESTERN FRONT

SAVE for the German retreat in the West, which has just begun to assume impressive proportions, the two months that have passed since my last article have been marked by no military event of first magnitude. The British victory at Bagdad, since it threatens the Osmanli supremacy in Islam, may prove of great value in Mohammedan history, but it is the Russian revolution, in its first stages while I write, that will claim permanent interest in future history.

The political effects of this revolution, so far as they affect the domestic life of the Russian nation, lie outside the field of the articles written in this series of mine for the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, but their military effect and their influence upon the progress and prospects of the war I shall discuss presently.

At the outset of the present article I wish to review very briefly my impressions as a result of two months in Europe and of a week at British General Headquarters, where I was enabled to see much of the organization and condition of the new British force in the field and to get a slight knowledge of the spirit of the men and the expectations of their commanders. I desire also to give an equally summary sketch of the views I found in London and in Paris, where I talked with many prominent men, including the British Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, and the President of the French Council, M. Briand.

I should begin by recalling that in my last article in this *REVIEW* I expressed the view that the war had become a stalemate and that a decision upon the battlefield was unlikely. I shared then the view held widely in America and found in Europe that the British and even the French people were ready to discuss a peace upon terms that insured the restoration of the *status quo* of 1914, plus some settlements of great outstanding questions, such as the Balkans, African colonies, and Polish and Alsace-Lorraine problems.

Two months in France and Britain convince me that I was mistaken in all these conclusions. I am satisfied that there is no thought in Britain of a peace by negotiation in advance of a victory upon the battlefield, a victory which shall shatter the prestige of the Prussian military establishment. I am convinced that France will not make peace without Alsace-Lorraine, and I found an absolute agreement that not alone should Russia have Constantinople, but that the partition of Austria-Hungary was regarded as the corner-stone of permanent peace.

As far as the military situation was concerned, there was a fixed belief in the British army that the German military machine was slowly but surely breaking down and that the ultimate defeat of this army in the field was only a matter of time, conceivably not to come until 1918, but certainly not to be postponed longer. The individual British soldier held this opinion, based upon his own personal observation of what was taking place before him, his experience with the steadily rising tide of German desertion, and his recognition of the declining force of German resistance as he encountered it.

The situation was not different in France. I went back to Verdun, where my readers will remember I witnessed the German attack of last year, and I went over ground that was German last year and is now firmly in French hands. I heard from French officers the story of the last fighting about Verdun which regained for the French Douaumont, Vaux, which I visited, and the ground to the north. To the mind of the French soldier these last conflicts demonstrated the superiority of French organization and system over the German and proved that the new French commander, General Nivelle, had "found a way" to deal with the trench war, which had become so terrible a burden to the French spirit.

Neither in the French nor the British army was there any question as to the outcome, save in the matter of time, and on this point I found the French more optimistic

than the British. Both armies are equally resolved upon peace *after* victory and both are satisfied that the signs are already unmistakable.

So far as I could judge by what I saw at the front and back of the front, there is no present prospect of peace in Europe, and there is as much determination as ever to carry on the war to victory. And I must emphasize again the fact that the confidence increases as one approaches the front, and those most assured of complete triumph are the men who are dealing day by day with the enemy across the narrow strip of "No Man's Land."

II. SUBMARINE WARFARE

While I was in Europe the chief topic of discussion was the new German submarine war. It began while I was in France and was more than half a month old when I sailed from Liverpool on the last American passenger ship to defy the German blockade unarmed. The facts and the conclusions found in London were about these:

Everyone in England recognized the gravity of the threat to their existence contained in the latest German attack. It was realized that a year hence the food question might become acute and that if the war were prolonged indefinitely there might even be a threat of starvation two years hence. No one minimized the ultimate danger and all England was voluntarily preparing itself; a great husbanding of provisions was going forward and all men and women were voluntarily restricting their food to moderate limits.

On the other hand, no one was hungry nor was there any idea that actual hunger could come within a year at the least. While it was recognized that the navy had not yet hit upon a simple and immediately effective weapon to destroy the submarine, it was known that many submarines had been sunk, and I am able to say on unquestioned authority that on February 15 no less than five submarines, two of them belonging to the new class, were destroyed or captured, while in the first fifteen days of the blockade twenty-five had been disposed of.

I think there was a manifest willingness on the part of the British Government to permit the reports of the submarine peril to be printed in full, that they might contribute to giving the people a full measure and perhaps more than a full measure of possible

danger, and thus prepare the way for extensive regulation. Certainly there was no terror, no fear, and nothing that suggested a renewed desire to make peace in the face of a fresh threat. My deliberate judgment is that it will be impossible for Germany, by free use of the submarines to compel peace this year, at the very least, and I regard the German hope of bringing England to her knees in six months as fantastic.

On the other hand, the universal belief in Britain was that Germany would live up to her program in the matter of submarine operations and thus make war between Germany and the United States inevitable, because the British observers recognized clearly that the submarine was the one and only chance left to Germany to escape from defeat and from disaster. Convinced that the German expectations would not be realized, the British did not dissent from the German view that such hope of peace without defeat as remained to Germany was found in the submarine venture.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the joy awakened in Paris by the breaking off of diplomatic relations between Berlin and Washington; this act destroyed the last platform on which the peace elements in France stood, while it brought new inspiration and new determination to those who believed that the war must go on, and that the safety and future of France would be lost if France composed her quarrel with her German foe in advance of victory and of a liberation achieved by French and British armies.

All France was stirred by the dismissal of Bernstorff; Paris belonged to the few Americans in the city on the Sunday when the news came, and M. Joseph Reinach, the distinguished French statesman and publicist, said to me that for France this had been the most important event since the Verdun campaign.

In England there was less emotion, but a solid recognition of advantage gained. Of military or naval help from America there was small expectation, although Lloyd George spoke to me confidently of the future arrival of American volunteers to serve with Allied armies. But there was a feeling that the last danger that German intrigue might involve the United States in a quarrel with England had disappeared, and that the United States was finally approaching a position of practical if not actual alliance with the enemies of Germany. That the United States would enter the war was the general

conviction, expressed by soldiers and statesmen alike. And at bottom this was founded on the conviction that Germany meant to sink all American ships, a conviction that brought to me personally many warnings against sailing home through the blockaded zone.

III. THE BRITISH ARMY

My readers are familiar with the fact that I have been at times a severe critic of the British army, although most of my criticisms have agreed with the comment of British writers themselves or have been justified by the evidence that became available in the end. It was for this reason that I found my visit to the British front of great interest. In the course of it I met Sir Douglas Haig, the commander-in-chief, the commanders of two of the five armies, and also two of the generals commanding corps in the sector which is now attracting world-wide attention.

As a result of this experience I should say this: In all the things that are considered the machinery of an army, the British have now passed both the Germans and the French. Their equipment, their armory of heavy artillery, their stocks of munitions, are unequaled, and their soldiers are cared for and provided for as are no other troops about whom I know anything. In the mere matter of heavy artillery the British are now firing four shells to the Germans' one, and at the Battle of the Somme their air service took and retained absolute control of the air.

In the first battles the British faced heavy artillery and machine guns with field artillery and rifles, they were destitute of all the utensils of trench war, and the Tommy was compelled to manufacture his bombs out of meat tins. To-day the British have as many trench weapons as the Germans, and many of their best weapons, the products of American invention, surpass those of their opponents. Nor can one fail to realize, riding over the roads, how many thousands of motor trucks have been brought over and what a wealth of transport has been assembled. Whole new railway lines have been created and the old French lines have been double-tracked. Calais and Boulogne have become industrial cities given over to army work, and Havre outranks Liverpool as a port of call for British ships.

Of the British army, one might say that it reminds an American of all that he has

heard of the Army of the Potomac when Grant came to it in 1864. It is a volunteer army largely commanded by civilian officers, with its high commanders drawn from the old regular army, but proven by long test and representing the survival of the fittest. It represents in rank and file the best of the manhood not alone of the United Kingdom, but of Canada and Australia.

I do not think anyone would claim for this army the military efficiency that belonged to the German army that entered Belgium in August, 1914; I do not believe anyone would claim for its staff and army commanders quite the combination of ability and training which belonged to the army that halted the Germans at the Marne and made the Battle of the Marne the greatest battle in all French history. In the same way one would not have compared Grant's army with the army of Moltke, which six years later disposed of the French imperial forces.

But the new British army is something of the same thing that Grant's army was; it is an immense sledge hammer, made up of men coming from the best manhood of the nation, and the Germans, like the French, have already lost their best troops in battle. It is a volunteer army, because the troops raised by conscription have only just begun to cross the Channel, and it is a volunteer army led by men who have the experience of more than two years of war, and its ranks are filled with the survivors of all the battles from Mons to Bapaume; it is a veteran army.

And the spirit of the British army is this: For two years the men in the ranks have fought off the Germans and held on while they lacked all the resources of modern warfare which belonged to Germany; they have opposed bodies to shells, and rifles to machine guns. Having in this long time successfully held on, they are now conscious of having a superiority in all that machinery means in war, and their spirit remains the spirit of the men who died at Ypres when the odds were five to one and the losses approached actual annihilation.

I have listened to the stories of young officers, whose duty it was to head forlorn hopes in the old days, or to hold on under conditions that held out no chance of victory, and in these stories I have found the key to the present temper of the British army. In those days these soldiers, officers and men, knew that they had no chance of victory, little chance of life; to-day the whole British army feels that it has better than an even chance.

It knows the slow but sure decay of German morale going on before it, and it has a conviction of victory growing as the lines creep forward, but based rather on the human equation than on the war map.

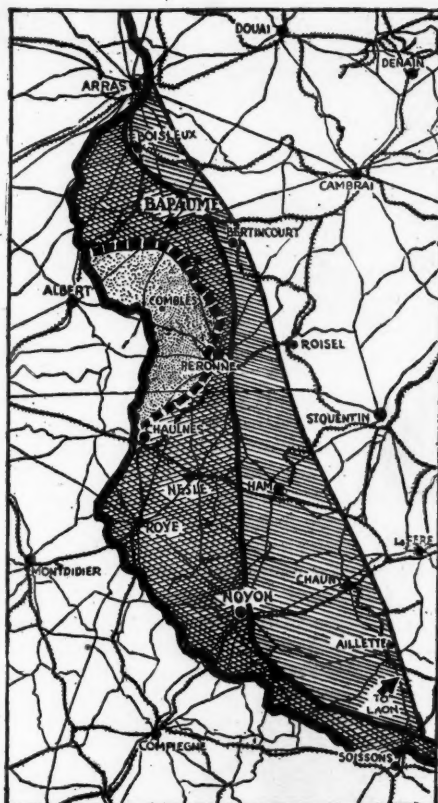
IV. BAPAUME

By chance I visited General Jacob, commanding a British army corps in the Somme sector, on the very day on which the Germans began their great retreat which is going forward when these lines are written, Sunday, March 18, and he showed me on the map the precise position in which the Germans stood and explained the dangers threatening them from envelopment. He was speaking of the immediate sector before him and of the villages of Grandcourt and Miraumont. The next day, when I visited Sir Douglas Haig, the Germans had left Grandcourt and the British commander-in-chief showed me on a relief map the new situation. He said, rather dryly, that a similar retirement a year ago would have excited general comment.

From the first week in February onward this German retreat continued. It began with the small recoil about Grandcourt, which straightened a little salient between Serre and Miraumont, but it gradually expanded until it became clear that it affected the whole salient between Arras and Bapaume. Bapaume fell, and then, coincidentally, a similar retirement took place before the French in the Noyon salient to the south, and this established the fact that the Germans were making the greatest retreat since the Marne and that a very considerable change in the western front was to take place, a change that will probably be still in progress when this article is printed.

Going backward to last year, I think my readers will remember that I discussed this very question of a German retreat during the earliest stages of the Battle of the Somme. At that time I pointed out that the first objectives of the Allies must be Bapaume and Péronne, and until these had fallen there could be no great show of success. I also explained that when these had fallen a further Allied advance toward Cambrai and St. Quentin would have serious bearing upon the whole German position in the so-called Noyon "elbow," the portion of the German line nearest to Paris and the portion in which occurs the great bend.

Now there are two aspects to be considered—first, that which concerns the causes of the



THE SUCCESSIVE ALLIED ADVANCES ON THE WESTERN FRONT SINCE JULY LAST

retreat and, second, the problem of the extent of the retirement. As to the first, the explanation is clear. When the Battle of the Somme began, the German position from the Somme to the Scarpe, that is, from Arras to Bray, was a wide semi-circle described about Bapaume, which was ten miles distant from Arras, from Bray, and from Gommecourt, which was the westernmost point of the German line in France.

Such a salient was not difficult to hold because it was so large that the British and French artillery on the outside of the circle could not cover all the inner positions and thus employ a converging fire sweeping all lines of communication from both sides. But by the close of the fighting last year the semi-circle had been cut in half and the Allied line was but a mile from Bapaume and all the Germans west of the Bapaume-Arras road were under a converging fire and their position was difficult.

In this position they were pounded all win-

ter by superior British artillery. Day and night the guns roared on, the roads were cut, the munitioning and reinforcing of the troops was made difficult, and the strain told so heavily upon the Germans that they began to desert. Thus there was nothing surprising in their decision, when spring came, to leave this bad corner and go back to a new line, drawn straight from Arras, back of Bapaume to Peronne. It was a logical thing to do and it was a consequence, not of any new British attack, but of the events of last year. It is the harvest of last year's efforts, delayed by the early coming of bad weather last November. But the delay obviously gave the Germans sufficient time to prepare works behind the threatened point.

On the other hand, it is well to recognize that such a retreat as that from the Bapaume-Arras salient included the surrender of a wide sector of the lines that had been prepared during two years of consistent and steady labor and there is little reason to believe that any new line can compare in permanent strength with the line that extended from the Scarpe across the Ancre to the Somme.

V. WHAT IT MEANS

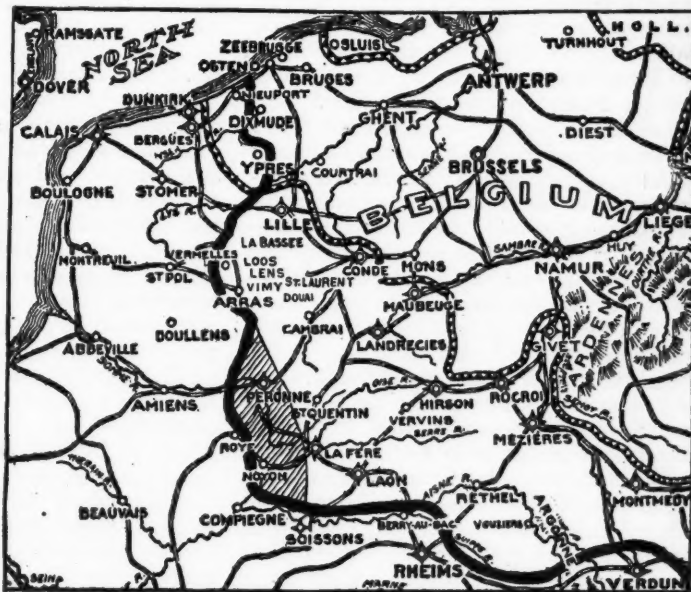
Now in all I wrote last year I pointed out that any German retreat incident to the Battle of the Somme might mean one of three things. It might mean merely a straightening of the line behind the positions that had become hard to hold or dangerous, because of the Allied attack. This would amount to a straightening of the line from Péronne to Arras, comparable with the French operation in the Woevre before Verdun, after the German attack in February, 1916, had brought the Germans into Douaumont. It might mean a retirement to a second system of

defenses, a wholly new line stretching from Douai through Cambrai and St. Quentin to Laon; and it might mean a general retirement from all French territory occupied by the Germans west of the Argonne or the Meuse, save a frontier strip extending from Mézières on the Meuse to Lille.

By the second week of March there was no longer any question as to the purpose of the Germans to go back to a new line behind Bapaume and thus to straighten out the Bapaume-Arras salient, become untenable because it had been so narrowed by British advance and was thus subjected to a converging fire. But the French official reports of March 17 proved that the retrograde movement was to be of a far more considerable character and was evidently to extend to a withdrawal to the Douai-Cambrai-Laon line, which has begun to be described as the Hindenburg Line.

It is safe to conclude now that before the German operation ends the Germans will be out of the famous Noyon salient, the point in their front nearest to Paris, and that their new line will run about twenty miles behind the front taken in September and October, 1914, between the cities of Lens and Laon, if not between Lille and Laon.

We know that on this line a strong system of trench works has been constructed. We know that Cambrai and St. Quentin



THE WESTERN FRONT FROM THE CHANNEL TO VERDUN

(The shaded portion of the map, from Arras to Soissons, shows the Allied advance of the past nine months in its relation to the entire line)

have been transformed into strongholds and we know that before the war both La Fère and Laon formed a part of the second line of French defenses, that between the frontier chain and the outer forts of Paris. Railroads, highways, and the character of the country itself combine to offer the Germans an admirable field for defensive works and British and French observations have established the fact that the Germans, with their usual industry and prevision, have made use of these opportunities.

Conceivably the retreat will not stop on this second line, but will go back to the frontier, where there is a third system of works based on Mézières on the Meuse, Hirson, Maubeuge and Lille and borrowing old French forts, which belonged to the frontier system of French defense, abandoned after the defeats of Mons and Charleroi in August, 1914.

By retiring to the first line, that of Laon-Douai, the Germans will shorten their front by at least twenty-five miles, reduce by 125,000 the number of troops needed to hold the line, and compel the French and British before them to do an enormous work of preparation and construction of roads and railways, before they can attack. By retiring to the frontier line, the Germans will shorten their front by eighty miles, reduce their requirement in man-power by half a million, and still more seriously increase the work of their enemies, which must precede an attack.

We have no idea of the ultimate purpose of German High Command. It would seem that an attack on one or both flanks must follow the retreat in the center and that a German offensive must be expected either in Flanders or Lorraine, when the present operations have been completed. But, on the other hand, it is quite possible that Hindenburg, long advertised as an "Easterner," has determined to reduce his western responsibilities to the minimum and deliver his great blow in the East. The Russian Revolution might contribute to such a decision.

It is well to remember that when Falkenhayn was removed from the General Staff last year there was a widely circulated rumor that his recommendation that the Germans leave France and shorten their western front greatly contributed to his fall. What is now being done by the Germans was expected last September and very generally discussed. Evidently the Kaiser's purpose to propose peace induced a postponement of retreat, that peace suggestions might be made while the war map

was most favorable to the Germans. Now that these political considerations have disappeared military reasons have full sway and what was looked for last fall is now taking place.

It is well to reserve judgment on the extent of the German weakness revealed by the present retreat. It may be an absolute confession forced by lack of men. It may be a relatively considerable admission of declining strength, limited to the recoil to the Laon-Douai line. But it may be merely a decision to concentrate all resources on a new attack either against the British in Ypres or the French in Lorraine, it may also be a decision to go to the East and endeavor to put Russia out of the war by striking Russian armies, disorganized first by German agents in the bureaucracy and then by the revolution provoked by their influences.

We are seeing what must necessarily be but the prelude to the greatest campaign of the war. All the first signs, at Bagdad quite as much as Bapaume, point to German weakness. Germany is in retreat on the western front and is retiring on a scale unequalled since trench war began. This is a tremendous fact, but it is well to recognize that the best-informed military men of the world, Allied as well as neutral, agree that Germany is still able to strike and to strike heavily. Her blow cannot long be delayed and becomes the more necessary because of the moral effect upon the Germans of recent events in Europe and in Asia.

To-day, however, it is wisest to limit the discussion to the immediate problems, the question whether German retreat will stop at the Laon-Douai line or at the frontier and the question whether there will be a new and colossal German offensive in the West or in the East, reckoning both Italy and the Balkans as possible targets, if the western campaign is abandoned. The Rumanian campaign should be a permanent warning against too sudden and too surprising conclusions based on partial evidence and inexact information.

VI. BAGDAD

A year ago it will be recalled that the fall of Erzerum was the signal for the beginning of an Allied campaign which continued through the Russian offensive in Galicia, the Italian capture of Gorizia, and the Battle of the Somme. Unfortunately, the subse-



TURKEY, WITH ITS STRATEGIC RAILWAYS AND FIGHTING AREAS OF THE ANGLO-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN
(The heavy broken lines indicate the Allied frontiers)

quent failure and surrender of the British at Kut brought the Russian offensive to a standstill after it had reached and passed Trebizond and Erzincan. There was, in fact, a recoil in Persia.

After many months of preparation, the British resumed their campaign in Mesopotamia and the early days of March saw the capture of Bagdad, an event of permanent meaning in all the Near East, both as it restores British prestige, contributes to the wrecking of the German *Mitteuropa* scheme and as it may be the first step in the liberation of the Arab from Osmanli supremacy.

The military effect of the fall of Bagdad is immediate and unmistakable. Pressing on through Bagdad and up the Tigris, the British threaten the rear and communications of the Turkish armies fighting in Persia, and almost immediately there was the announcement of the renewed Russian advance through Persia toward the Tigris and from Lake Van toward the head waters of the Euphrates.

Of the eventual military effect this may be said: if the British are able to reach Mosul, toward which they are now advancing, along a section of the Bagdad Railway which has been completed, they will be able to join

hands with the Russians coming from Lake Van, while a resumption of the Russian drive from Erzincan may reach Diarbekr and Harput. This would eventually compel a Turkish withdrawal from most of Syria, a retreat hastened by the pressure now exerted by still another British army which has come up out of Egypt and, having cleared the Sinai Peninsula, is already reported at the gates of Jerusalem.

Looking now to the political meaning of the fall of Bagdad one may say of this that the Arabs have never loyally accepted the yoke of the Osmanli. They have regarded him as an interloper in Islam, and the decline of Mohammedanism in the world was, in Arab minds, coincident with the coming of the Turk.

For many years there has been a growing restlessness among Arabs. Syria has been on the verge of revolution ever since the Young Turks overthrew Abdul Hamid, and there has been a continuous agitation for Syrian autonomy. The failure of the Turkish expedition against Egypt, the fall of Bagdad, the invasion of Palestine—all these must contribute to shake Turkish power in Syria. But even more important is the recent revolt in Mecca, by which an Arab has gained control of the Holy City and thus

deprived the Turk of his chief title to supremacy in Islam.

My readers are sufficiently familiar with that Central European idea of the Germans which was comprehended in the determination to build up a great state, extending from the Baltic to the Persian Gulf, and having for its left line the railroad which descends from Hamburg through Berlin to Vienna, to Constantinople, through Asia Minor and, beyond the Cilician Gates, forks, sending one branch to the Persian Gulf and the other to Suez and Mecca. This railroad, still uncompleted, was designed to bring German armies to the frontiers of Egypt and eventually of India and to threaten the British Empire by land.

The essential detail in this scheme was German supremacy in Turkey and in the Balkans. This was achieved by enlisting the Turk and the Bulgar and by conquering the Serb. But Bagdad and Suez were as essential to this scheme in the East as were Calais and Riga in the West. In all four corners Germany has been forced to halt.

As long as the Turks hold Constantinople and the Bulgar and the Austrian armies keep open the road from the Danube to the Golden Horn, the major fraction of the German plan will remain a fact. Neither the fall of Bagdad nor that of Jerusalem; neither the loss of Mesopotamia nor of Syria would destroy the German scheme utterly, or erect an adequate barrier against future assumption of the German scheme. Such a barrier will exist only when a new strong Serbia has been created along the Danube and the Save and the Russian has been seated at Byzantium; but the fall of Bagdad is unmistakably symptomatic of a declining Turkish strength. It must immediately compel the recall from Lithuania, Galicia and Bessarabia, of the Turkish troops lent to the Austrian, the German and the Bulgarian, and it must be accepted as an indication of a decline of German influence and power in the East.

VII. THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The political aspects and meaning of the Russian revolution lie outside the field of the military commentator. Some of them I shall discuss hereafter, but at the moment I desire

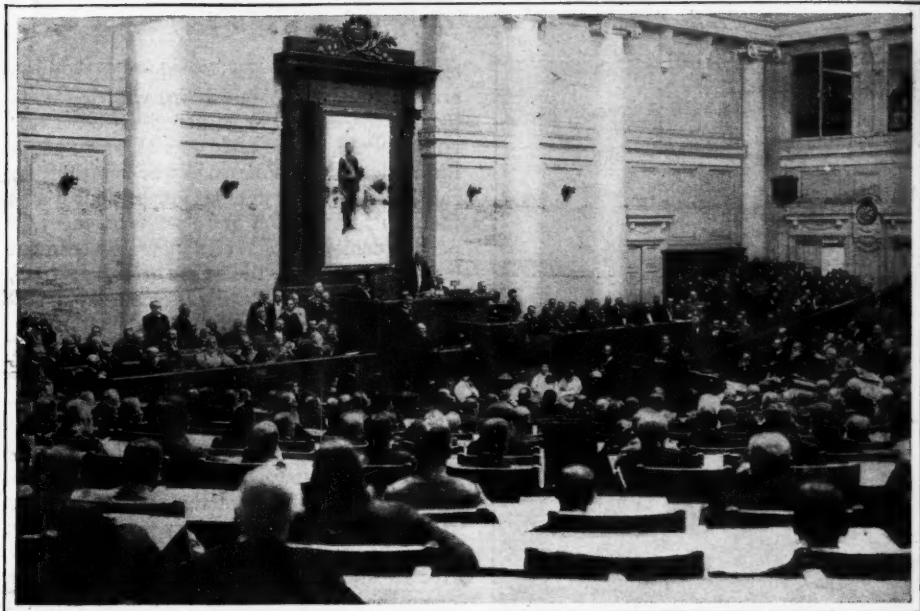
to point out only this: The influence of pro-German elements in Russia had succeeded in paralyzing the national effort and in crippling the national armies. Artillery sent from France to the Rumanians last fall was lost in the Ural Mountains. Ammunition sent for these guns was held up in Archangel until it was destroyed by German agents at that port.

The national organization of the *Zemstvos*, which supplied much that was necessary for the army, was paralyzed by Protopopoff and Stürmer. A deliberate effort was made by Stürmer to conclude a separate peace with the Germans last year. It was a matter of common agreement in London and Paris when I was there a month ago that the Russian situation as it existed was hopeless, and that unless there was some change no effective help could be expected from Russia during the summer campaign.

It is plain that those who now control Russia's destiny mean to continue the war and that every effort to supply the armies and to equip the millions still available will be made. It is a German view that the disorganization incident to the revolution may prevent Russian interposition for many months, but a similar result had already been achieved by the treachery and treason of those who directed the Russian Government, and it may easily turn out that the Russian revolution will have the same effect upon Russian armies as the French Revolution had upon the French armies and that we shall see a new activity and a new energy in the Slav forces.

My own judgment is that Russian armies will very shortly be put to the test, for there are many indications that point to new German attacks either toward Odessa or toward Petrograd. At present it seems to me inevitable that the military effect of the revolution will be beneficial to the Allies; that it will be increasingly beneficial as the war proceeds, and that if the war lasts until next year, as I expect, it may be one of the decisive elements in the struggle. Men will recall that it was a change of rulers that saved Frederick the Great in the Eighteenth Century. It would be an odd circumstance if another change of rulers should doom Prussianism in Europe and in the world.





THE DUMA IN SESSION

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

BY ISAAC DON LEVINE

THE revolution in Russia began March 9 with peaceful demonstrations in Petrograd against the chaotic management by the Czar's government of the food supply of the capital. Five days later the Romanoff dynasty came to an end, sweeping Czar Nicholas and the bloody order of despotism he stood for out of the control of 180,000,000 people.

What is perhaps the most remarkable event in the history of modern times, the overthrow of Czarism, was accomplished with a dramatic rapidity that dazed and astounded the entire world. The old régime passed away and the new Russia arose on its ruins so swiftly that humanity is still bewildered by the great Russian upheaval.

There is no measuring the incalculable possibilities opened up by the triumph of Russian democracy. For this democracy is not a newly born infant, but a physical colossus of gigantic intellect. Two and a half years of the present war have educated the Russian democracy more than a generation of peaceful progress. Russia's democracy was ready to revolt on the eve of the war. The war kept it in restraint till its own interests demanded a change in the Russian Govern-

ment. Due to this is the marvelous character of the revolution. The army, the nobility, 80 per cent. of the bureaucracy, have joined Russia's democracy in the present revolt. That means that the whole nation came to realize that it was high time for the people to assert their rights. And when the nation made only a gesture toward such an assertion it found that there was nothing in its way. It thought itself shackled. But it found that it had been only asleep. It considered Czarism a powerful citadel. In reality it proved a house of cards.

SWIFT SEIZURE OF THE REINS OF GOVERNMENT

And the gesture of the people turned into a vigorous self-assertion. The few men who held the nation in their hands were cast off with such ease that within forty-eight hours the autocracy lay prostrate at the feet of the triumphant democracy. The first victim of popular wrath was the Cabinet. The revolutionary army, composed of citizens, soldiers and students, swept into the administrative buildings. Officials were hanged and shot on the spot. The former Premier Stürmer, a



Photograph by Paul Thompson

MICHAEL RODZIANKO

(President of the Duma, and President of the Committee of Safety, the responsible head of the provisional government)

Germanophile old bureaucrat; the traitorous and hated Minister of Interior Protopopoff; Premier Golitzin; Minister of Agriculture Rittich; and many other reactionary *tchinovniks* were either executed or arrested by the people.

With the abolition of the Cabinet a new government sprang up. The Duma, which commands the highest confidence and respect of the people, took charge of the situation. Whether the Duma planned the revolution is difficult to say at the present moment. In all likelihood it did not. But it certainly had long contemplated the possibility of an uprising. And when the revolution broke out the Duma was ready to assume supreme authority.

Never was political history of such magnitude enacted into life in such a manner as were the events that occurred between the formation of the Committee of Safety and the abdication of the Romanoffs and the liberation of the enslaved people by the new government. In rapid succession came developments, each of which was epochal. First the old régime and its symbols were eradi-

cated. The Secret Service, the Czar's modern instrument of inquisition, was destroyed by the masses. The Fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the casemates of which popular leaders were smarting, was captured by the revolutionists without opposition. The martyrs for freedom were set free, the jails partly demolished. The new government has decided to let the ruins of the fortress, like those of the Bastille, remain as a memento of the revolution.

PERSONNEL OF THE COMMITTEE OF SAFETY

The Committee of Safety immediately dispatched a delegation calling for the abdication of the Czar. The members of the committee, which now holds in its hands the fortunes of Russia, are not the revolutionists of popular imagination. They represent the united Russia, the sober Russia, the constructive Russia primarily. The President of the committee is the Duma's President, Michael Rodzianko. A man of the highest integrity, of conservative opinions, of aristocratic extraction; he is just the reverse of the fiery revolutionary. Only a government that made treason its watchword, a Czar that made blood the insignia of his rule, a system that set up chaos as its goal could have turned Rodzianko into the head of a Committee of Safety.

Of course, there are a pair of extremists in this committee. But its majority represents moderate and healthy thought; radicalism that is not utopian; principles of liberty and justice that are not experiments but realities in our world; efficiency and the highest type of intellectualism. The new Russian government is largely composed of the members of the committee.

END OF A DYNASTY

The committee elaborated a document to which the Czar was to affix his signature at his abdication. With this document the committee's delegation proceeded to the station where the train on which the Czar was proceeding to Petrograd was halted. Deserted by the army, the Russian autocrat was helpless. He signed away the throne for himself and his son in favor of his brother, Michael Alexandrovitch.

Thus ended the rule of the man whom history will hold responsible for unparalleled oppression, bloodshed and tyranny. But the people would not stop there. Liberty once tasted provokes courage and resolution. The revolutionary arm, singing the *Marseillaise*,

and marching under the red flag, clamored for the abolition of the monarchy altogether. The end of the Romanoff dynasty was necessary to satisfy the popular cry.

Another delegation of the Duma was dispatched to the Grand Duke Michael, whom the Czar had designated as his successor. The delegation brought with it a document calling for the abdication of the Grand Duke and the establishment of the people's supreme authority. A plebiscite, held on the basis of universal suffrage, is to determine Russia's form of government and the fate of Michael.

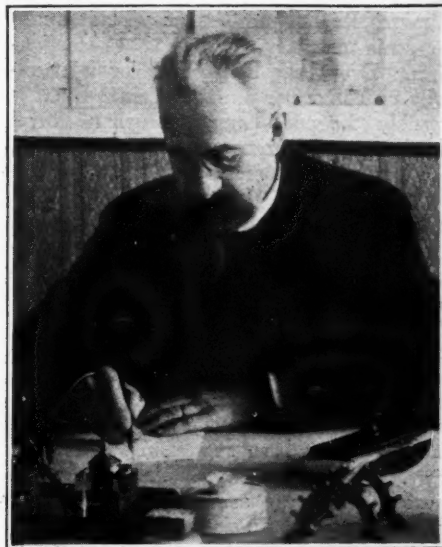
As a climax to the swift fall of the Romanoff dynasty came the report that the new government had decided not to reappoint Grand Duke Nicholas, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Russian armies. The reason for this action is that the new Russia is not desirous to vest a Romanoff with great authority. The family which ruled Russia for 300 years with the mailed fist and the bloody sabre is thus eliminated from the high councils of the nation.

While the abolition of the dynasty was promulgated legally by the Committee of Safety, the people erased its very symbols. The Winter Palace, in front of which the Czar's guards shot hundreds of people on what is remembered as the Bloody Sunday of January, 1905, has been taken over by the new government. On its roof the red flag of revolution had been hoisted, thus signifying the metamorphosis of the Czar's citadel into the home of liberty. For the Russian Duma is going to meet there from now on, instead of the Taurida Palace.

The portraits of the Czar and his family have been burned by the people; the Romanoff insignia torn down from the walls and the government institutions. At the first session of the Holy Synod held after the revolution the Czar's chair was removed. The bulwark of Czarism in Russia, the Orthodox Church, thus deserted its Little Father. Next to the overthrow of the Czar himself the revolution in the Russian church is the paramount event in the whole movement. For with the Church on its side the new régime is almost entirely secure from possible difficulties.

THE NEW CABINET

Dangers there still are in the path of the new Russia, but the new government is composed of men of sterling ability and profound vision. The Committee of Safety proceeded to form a new Cabinet as soon



Photograph by the Press Illustrated Service

PRINCE GEORGE LVOFF, THE NEW RUSSIAN PREMIER

as the old government had been overthrown. It is the most fortunate, the most gifted, the most expert Cabinet that ever took over the helm of a nation after a revolution. It represents the cream of Russia, the noblest sons of which have been drafted into its ranks. It has the ability to steer Russia safely to victory and an era of light and liberty and justice. It has the vision and the idealism necessary to make Russia not a mere member of the family of democracies in the world, but a great and fit leader of humanity.

LVOFF, THE LLOYD GEORGE OF RUSSIA

Prince George Lvoff, the new Russian Premier, is the Russian Lloyd George. A man of royal extraction, for he is a descendant of Rurik, the first Russian ruler, Lvoff is a democrat to the last fibre of his constitution. A man of prodigious working capacity, of enormous business experience accumulated in the course of his Presidency of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, of penetrating vision, Lvoff is also a great humanitarian. His heart as well as his house is open to all. Charming in his humility, mild-tempered, but steadfast, the Prime Minister of the new Russia is the only man in the empire who can command the respect of all factions and parties.

Perhaps the latter trait is the most important of all. For party strife is more bitter in Russia than in the United States or Great

Britain. Russia and France will fall into the same category in regard to factionalism. Every big Russian leader is necessarily an active party man. Prince Lvoff is probably the only eminent Russian liberal who has never become an active party man. Nominally he is a member of the Constitutional Democrats. In actuality he devoted himself to constructive work under the old régime, while the other Russian liberals indulged in fiery oratory and futile denunciation.

The Russian revolution is in a great measure, the product of one man's work. This man is Prince Lvoff. History will in all probability call him the father of the Russian revolution. For the Russian revolution could not have been successful without the army. And no man in Russia did more toward winning the army than Lvoff. He created the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, which began thirty months ago with fifteen men and has developed into an organization numbering one million social workers. These workers have done and are doing but one thing—helping the army. The latter slowly came to appreciate the work of the Zemstvo Union. It perceived that it was not the government but the Zemstvos who took real care of the army, who supplied it with food, medical assistance, munitions, reading-rooms, and actual support and affection. The Zemstvos thus alienated the army from the Czar, with the resulting overthrow of autocracy and the possible erection of a Russian republic. And Prince Lvoff, history will remember, has brought about the transformation of the army's traditional status.

A GREAT FOREIGN MINISTER

Russia's Foreign Minister, Paul Miliukov, is to-day the most capable Foreign Minister in the world. The speaker of about a dozen foreign languages, a student of history, an author and journalist of note, Miliukov is also a practical statesman of first rank. He is the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, the editor of the great liberal paper, "Retch," and undoubtedly the foremost authority in the world on the Constantinople and the Dardanelles question. For ten years he led the Russian democracy. His speeches in the Duma were historical events. He wrecked the Stürmer Ministry with his memorable indictment of Stürmer for pro-Germanism from the platform of the Duma on November 15 last. He hammered ceaselessly and convincingly at the tottering in-

stitution of Czarism. No single man in the empire did so much toward the creation of liberal sentiment in the nation and the solidification of the popular opposition against the government.

AN EXPERT WAR SECRETARY

At the head of the War and Navy ministries has been put Alexander Guchkoff, the head of the Committee for the Mobilization of War Industries. Next to Prince Lvoff, the new War Minister is the foremost expert in the Cabinet. He is the Russian counterpart of the French Albert Thomas, only his achievements have been more marvelous. To mobilize Russia's industries, and to create new ones there, is many times more difficult than to do the same in France. For Russia is industrially the most backward nation in Europe. But the war's demands were so tremendous and the government's incompetence so glaring that an organization was created with help of the Duma for the purpose of increasing Russia's production of war materials. At the head of this organization stood Guchkoff. What this organization did is hardly credible. It developed and transformed industrial Russia to the highest degree of efficiency. It multiplied Russia's output of munitions hundredfold. And without this body the Russian army would have never delivered that staggering blow at Austria in 1916. The army appreciates this. To put Guchkoff at the head of it means pushing the war to the limit with an army that has the fullest confidence in its chief.

A TRAINED ORGANIZER FOR AGRICULTURE

Russia's Minister of Agriculture, Shingareff, is another phenomenal person. He is a graduate of a medical college, and was a rural physician years ago. His works on the sanitation of peasants had attracted wide attention. A man of keen observation power, of enormous capacity for work, Shingareff became one of the leading members of the Duma when elected a Deputy there from Petrograd. At the outbreak of the war he identified himself with the Military Committee of the Duma. He soon developed into its leading genius. Coöperating with Guchkoff, he contributed a vast amount of work to the cause of national defense. Last year he visited the allied countries as a member of the Parliamentary delegation. He studied England's, France's, and Italy's war preparations and brought home with him much knowledge that he was prevented from apply-

ing to conditions in Russia by the old régime.

Shingareff is considered the foremost organizer in Russia. His appointment will be hailed with universal joy by the people. For the Ministry of Agriculture has charge of the food situation. Shingareff is sure to solve it quickly and satisfactorily. He will then devote his energies toward the improvement of the moujik's lot. His career began in the midst of the peasantry and he will be happy to be able to ease the conditions of the hundred and twenty million Russians who till the soil in the sweat of their brow without opportunity to partake of life's benefits and opportunities.

A SOCIALIST AS MINISTER OF JUSTICE

A spectacular and revolutionary individual is the new Minister of Justice, Kerenski. He is the only socialist in the Russian Cabinet. A brilliant orator, a gifted lawyer, he was elected to the Duma as a representative of the Labor party. No man in the empire would fit the post of Minister of Justice better than Kerenski. Justice is his passion, his ruling idea, his very soul. When General Sukhomlinoff, the traitorous ex-War Minister, was captured by the people in the course of the revolution and was about to be executed, Kerenski suddenly appeared at the place. If Sukhomlinoff was a traitor, pleaded the Minister of Justice, he will be executed by the government. He asked to let the courts determine if he was guilty. His argument calmed the crowd and the ex-War Minister was handed over to the authorities and held for trial.

ABLE MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

Russia is to become fully civilized within the briefest time possible. The new Minister of Education will see to that. The ex-president of the Moscow University, Professor Manuilov, symbolizes in the new Cabinet erudition and free thought. He is the editor of the great Moscow daily, *Russkia Vedomosti*. The Russian *intelligentsia* will welcome Manuilov to the post of Minister of Education, for he has suffered with the rest of Russia at the hands of the autocratic régime. He was ousted from the presidency of the Moscow University by the reactionary government. No better man could have been chosen for the important post he holds.

A fierce advocate of the rights of oppressed nationalities is N. V. Nekrasoff, the newly appointed Minister of Communications. He



Photograph by the American Press Association

THE GRAND DUKE MICHAEL, DESIGNATED BY THE CZAR AS HIS SUCCESSOR

has had a great deal of experience in connection with transportation problems while serving on the various Duma committees which tackled the country's transportation difficulties. Nekrasoff was Vice-President of the Duma. He was also one of the leading members of the Constitutional Democracy.

BUSINESS MEN IN THE CABINET

A. Konovaloff, Minister of Trade and Commerce, is the son of a famous Moscow merchant and the head of a great mercantile establishment. He has early identified himself with the Russian liberal movement, for the corruption dominating the old régime, more than anything else, proved to him the unfitness of the Czar's government. Konovaloff is not the only professional business man in the Cabinet. Terestchenko, the Minister of Finance, is another. The latter is one of the wealthiest men in the country. He is Russia's greatest philanthropist. He comes of a celebrated Kieff family and is a radical by nature. It would be hard to find a man in Russia to match Terestchenko as Minister of Finance.

MODERATE ELEMENTS REPRESENTED

The new Controller of the State, Godneff, has been one of the Duma's most indus-

trious workers. Godneff is an Octobrist, representing the moderate element in the nation. Before the war the Octobrist party was a conservative body. The war has made it very progressive. Rodzianko, the head of the Committee of Safety, is also the leader of the Octobrists. Rodzianko's reluctance to take office has probably led to the appointment of Godneff. As a leading member of the Duma's financial committee, Godneff will undoubtedly prove the right man for the post.

The new Russian government is nearly ideal. It is not headed by professional revolutionists, visionary agitators, or narrow doctrinaires. At the helm of Russia to-day stands a group of men representing civilization at its best, democracy at its highest stage, sane statesmanship and decisive action.

FINLAND'S NEW GOVERNOR-GENERAL

How soon the new government began to do things is proved by the appointment of Roditcheff to the post of Governor-General of Finland. Roditcheff is Russia's "golden-tongued" orator. He is the Duma's leading exponent of the rights of free nationalities. The Jews have always found in Roditcheff their leading advocate. He is the only member of the Cabinet who has been elected to all the four Dumas. He is probably the only member of the Duma who bears this distinction. In 1905 he was one of the leaders of a delegation to the Czar pleading for reforms. As far back as 1878 he urged a constitutional form of government for Russia. Since that time he has openly advocated his idea on many occasions, which often led to his arrest. He is a man of the gentlest manners, full of love for humanity and the oppressed, an idealist and at the same time a practical statesman. With the exception of Lvoff perhaps no man is so beloved and so dear to Russia.

THE JEWS AND THE POLES

The liberation of the Jewish people is another tremendous problem tackled by the new government immediately. The Jew, who has been oppressed and persecuted in Russia, in the most inhuman fashion, is henceforth a free citizen. It is amazing how such an epochal event is inaugurated in the new Russia in a matter-of-course way.

The new Russian government will not attempt to Russianize the many alien elements inhabiting the empire by force. Liberty and

opportunity will weld all these elements together as no power ever did. Poland will become autonomous and united under Russian protection. But the tie that will bind Russia and Poland will not be closer than the tie binding Canada and Great Britain. Armenia is to be set up as an individual entity under the new Russia's protection. Finland has already been granted the fullest autonomy. The Jews, the Lithuanians, the Letts and all the other nationalities living in the Russian empire will be permitted to develop their racial civilizations if they care to. The result will be complete assimilation. The new Russia will follow in this respect the policies of the United States, granting the widest measure of freedom to all.

IMPORTANT PART PLAYED BY THE ZEMSTVOS

The task before the new government is enormous, indeed colossal. To transform the vast governmental plant is in itself a gigantic problem. But its solution is happily facilitated by the social organizations like the Zemstvos. These organizations have local committees in every community of Russia. These committees are composed of public-spirited citizens who devoted themselves to social work in connection with the war. They form a splendid basis for a new governmental system. Already have orders been issued that the Zemstvo leaders take over the posts of governors of the provinces. The same policy will be followed in the reorganization of the entire administration of the country.

Thus is the most archaic of the world's remaining autocracies to be transformed into the most democratic of the world's great democracies. Such a transformation is bound to affect the political and social structures of all nations. Within eight years Turkey, Portugal, China, Persia and Russia underwent revolutions. The days of autocracy in the world are already numbered. Humanity is becoming ever more convinced that it belongs to a past age. True civilization cannot develop along with autocracy. The Russian revolution has demonstrated that better and clearer than any other event of modern history. The imagination of mankind is stirred by the nearness of the triumph of democracy on earth. Only Prussianism remains today in the path of democracy's universal rise. And the Russian revolution spells the doom of Prussianism in no uncertain terms.

BRITISH IMPERIAL PROBLEMS

AN EMPIRE IN CONFERENCE

BY HON. P. T. McGRATH

(President Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

[This and the following article—"What May Happen in the Pacific"—treat of facts and conditions that are of vital interest at this moment to the English-speaking world. Both articles are published as frank expressions of British opinion, for which this REVIEW accepts no responsibility. Mr. Douglas is an English journalist who has served on Australian newspapers.—THE EDITOR.]

THE rupture of relations between Germany and the United States, and the possibility of actual war between them, created an added interest for the American public in the session of the war conference of the British Empire which began in London at the end of February. The participants were Premier Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. Arthur Henderson; the Secretary for India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain (assisted by two advisers sent specially from Delhi for the purpose); and the Premiers of the Overseas Dominions—Sir Robert Borden, Canada; Sir Edward Morris, Newfoundland; General Smuts (representing Premier Botha), South Africa; Premier Hughes, Australia, and Premier Massey, New Zealand.

The decision to hold this war conference was one of the first reached by Lloyd George on taking office in England, and the call for the conference, the underlying object of which is peace, was, appropriately, issued on Christmas Day. It set out that this body was to meet in special and continuous session to consider three things—(1) the continued prosecution of the war; (2) the terms on which, by agreement with her Allies, Britain could assent to peace; and (3) the problems which will arise after hostilities end.

This conference forms the most marked step yet taken towards the readjustment of the relations between the various elements making up the British Empire. Ex-Premier Asquith, in a speech to his constituents last June, struck the keynote for greater imperial unity in these words:

It will never be possible, in my judgment, to revert to our old methods of council and of government, for the fabric of the Empire will have to be refashioned and the relations, not only between Great Britain and Ireland, but between the United Kingdom and our Dominions, will of

necessity be brought, and brought promptly, under close and connected review.

MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY

Britain Overseas comprises the Indian Empire; various "Crown" Colonies, or those peopled by colored or native races, with small elements of white people who form the governing classes; and the autonomous or self-governing Dominions—those where white people have established themselves and created representative institutions, that is to say, Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand.

During the past generation the Autonomous Dominions have been gradually attaining the status of daughter nations and bearing a part in the real responsibilities of the Empire, with the obligations in blood and treasure which such necessitate. Thus Canada and Australasia sent contingents to South Africa in the Boer War, and in the present struggle all of them, even to little Newfoundland, have had military and naval forces actively engaged in various theaters of hostilities.

Of course, India and the Crown Colonies have also made generous contributions of men and money, and have sent of their sons, white and colored, to play their part in the great struggle. An outstanding contribution has been that of the *Malaya*, a super-dreadnought, from the Federated Malay States.

As the "Crown" Colonies number fifty-five in all and are dispersed over the whole of the earth's surface, it has naturally not proved feasible to extend the invitation to them or elicit their views, but it is understood that they may be regarded as reëchoing the sentiments of their fellow Britons in the self-governing Dominions, and with regard to these the point is that as the final stages of the war are now considered to have been reached, and as Premier Asquith, in the

early days of the struggle, gave a pledge in the House of Commons that terms of peace would not be made until after consultation with these Dominions, the proposed conference may be accepted as affording an opportunity for the British Empire to make clear to the whole world its position regarding the future course of the war and the issues that will follow the signing of peace.

ALL BENT ON FIGHTING OUT THE WAR

On the question of the continued prosecution of the war, there seems no doubt that the Overseas Dominions are as determined as the mother country to continue the struggle to a successful finish and to give of their best in men and resources to attain that end.

An understanding between the British Government and the spokesmen of the Overseas Dominions as to the terms on which peace can be made, is obviously essential when it is remembered that in point of population, Canada is as great as Belgium, Australasia equal to Rumania, South Africa comparable with Serbia, and Newfoundland on a footing with Montenegro.

FATE OF GERMAN COLONIES SEIZED BY ALLIES

In Australasia and South Africa, peace terms, too, are bound up with the question of the fate of the German colonies in these regions acquired since the outbreak of war by the Allied nations. Quite recently Mr. Walter Long, Secretary for the Colonies in the Lloyd George administration, officially declared in an address at London that it was not intended that these German colonies should ever revert to the Teuton Empire; and, indeed, it might safely be said that if any contrary determination were held by the British Government, it would mean a serious clash with the Dominions, because the people of Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa are stubbornly determined not to permit the German flag again to fly in proximity to these countries, or again to afflict them with the menaces which they saw in German colonial possessions in the past. Statesmen of Australia and New Zealand have endorsed Mr. Long's declaration, and General Botha long ago made clear the position of the South African Commonwealth as to the future of German West Africa and German East Africa.

CONDITIONS TO BE FACED AFTER THE WAR

These are not, however, the only questions which peace embodies for the overseas

dominions, or for the Crown Colonies throughout the world. In the South Pacific, for instance, Australia and New Zealand, not to speak of the minor territories scattered among the archipelagoes, are confronted with the issue of their future naval defense, especially in view of the contingency which some in the Antipodean territories profess to see, of Japanese aggression in future days.

South Africa, in its turn, has a similar problem, accentuated by the facts that white people in the South African Dominion number only 1,250,000, against 3,750,000 natives, that the acquisition of the German colonies, bordering on these areas, will enormously increase the number of blacks without affording anything like a proportionate increase in the whites, and that because of South Africa's dependence upon imports for so much of her necessities of life, she would be specially vulnerable under the new conditions of naval aggression to which the submarine menace has given rise.

Likewise, Canada and Newfoundland have to face considerations of altered naval conditions on the North Atlantic. Canada will increase her population enormously after the war by immigration from Europe. Her exports of foodstuffs across the ocean will be doubled or trebled. Under these conditions it would be an ignoble position for her to rely upon the British fleet for the defense of her sea-borne commerce.

NAVAL AND TRADE RELATIONS

This will in its turn give rise to two other issues—first, the naval forces which the Empire, or its component parts, will maintain after the war, and second, the trade relations that will be kept up between the mother country and the various dominions and colonies. At present Britain possesses her own navy, which is used for the guarding and defense of her "far-flung appanages" as well. Canada has made no naval effort worth while so far. The South African Confederacy has only been lately created. Australia has a naval force approaching adequacy for her own requirements, and New Zealand has contributed a battleship to the Imperial Navy. But this whole matter will have to be readjusted in the light of the new conditions which the end of the war will see, and especially in the light of the commercial connection between the different parts of the Empire.

Much will depend, in respect of concerted naval effort, upon the commercial plans

which are made. It may be recalled that at the Allied conference on "after-the-war trade," held in Paris last summer, resolutions were adopted for combined action by the Entente nations to protect themselves against German commercial maneuvers after the present struggle ends, and that since then there has been much discussion in the press of the world as to the possibilities of successfully carrying out such a plan. At present all the British overseas dominions have their own individual tariff policies, dictated by their own particular needs, and in no way conditioned on British policy except as any dominion may give a preference to British trade, which Canada has been doing since 1897.

TARIFF PROPOSALS

To what, if any, extent the British Empire will recast its policy of commercial intercourse after the war yet remains uncertain. Some economists advocate five different tariff schedules—the most favorable to operate between the motherland and her overseas possessions; the next between the British Empire and its Allies in the present war; the third between the Empire, its Allies, and neutral nations; the fourth between the "Grand Alliance" and the states now at enmity with them; and the fifth a reprisal tariff to be made operative should the Central Powers adopt any policy contrary to that embodied in the foregoing.

But other capable observers express doubts as to the ability of Britain and her Allies to make effective schemes like this once a peace treaty has been made; first, because of the inevitable difficulties in the way of carrying out any policy embodying "water-tight compartments" such as that outlined above, and second, because of the unwillingness of the British democracy to be a party to such plans; and a foretaste of the latter feeling has already been given by the decision of the British trade congress at Manchester on January 29, refusing to endorse the proposals of the Paris conference of last summer with respect to trading after the war.

CEMENTING IMPERIAL UNION

But overshadowing all other questions to confront the conference is that of some arrangement whereby the British Empire may become more unified than at present. To-day Britain, with less than fifty million people, is carrying the great burden of this world war so far as the British Empire is concerned. And while the overseas domin-

ions are playing a creditable part, they are bearing nothing like the weight they would have to carry if they were independent nations.

The first question, therefore, which may arise is as to whether there is to be a change in the relations of these component parts of a world-wide empire, and if so upon what basis. Are the overseas dominions to be represented in an Imperial Parliament and in an Imperial Cabinet, and if so, in what proportion, or will they be content to remain as at present? If they are to be included, on what basis will their contributions toward the naval and military forces be assessed, or, even if they are not included, are they to make any special provision for their own defense, and if so, along what lines?

Again, is it desirable that they should remain as at present, or would it be preferable that Australia and New Zealand, now two distinct dominions, be combined in one, and all the minor territories, such as New Guinea, Fiji, etc., in the South Pacific, placed under their wardenship; or would it be preferable to assign these territories to New Zealand and thus place her in area, population, and resources somewhat on a parity with Australia? South Africa, too, will have her problems of this nature—whether the four existing colonies—Cape land, Natal, Orange River, and Transvaal—shall rule the territories wrested from Germany as mere dependencies or whether these are to be created into sister states and added to the existing members of the Union there. Similarly, is Newfoundland to remain apart from the Canadian federation in future or to be absorbed therein; and, in the latter contingency, will the French islets of St. Pierre-Miquelon, off the south coast of Newfoundland, be acquired by Britain also and brought under the Union Jack? In that event all of the upper part of North America may become British and a source of international friction be eliminated by ending the fishery dispute, France being satisfied with territorial concessions elsewhere.

The federating of the islands in the West Indies at present administered as individual "Crown" colonies by the British Government, is another matter that will undoubtedly be considered, and due attention given to the plea advanced in some quarters in Canada that this great dominion should enjoy an overlordship of these islands because of her greater proximity to them and the possibilities of a steadily growing trade be-

ing done with them; while the grouping of the West African possessions of the Empire and the exchange of territory with France, in order that the possessions of both these countries in that region should be made single states, instead of several small ones, as at present, may also be taken into account. At the same time, too, the matter of developing trade between the mother country and these various classes of overseas possessions, and of these territories between themselves, partly through the agency of a British Empire bank, will be dealt with.

BANKING AND TRADE FACILITIES

The immense advantages that Germany has gained in trade in the past through the facilities afforded by her banks has influenced British statesmen and financiers to urge that a somewhat similar policy be pursued after the war, and it is understood that the Imperial Government will be prepared to support such an enterprise, and to put at

the disposal of such a bank all the monetary resources of Great Britain, which are, of course, among the greatest in the world. The effect of such an arrangement would be that inter-imperial trade would be developed, on the one side, and German competition would be rendered more difficult. Indeed, though not much is being said about the matter, it is undoubted that, if not the motherland, most of the overseas dominions will enact laws after the war designed to exclude German settlers from these countries, to render it more difficult for Germans to do business in them, and unquestionably to cut off advantages in the way of shipping and other facilities which the Germans enjoyed throughout the British Empire until the opening of hostilities.

It will be seen from this summary that the deliberations of the British War Council are likely to be fraught with momentous consequences, not alone to the Empire, but to the whole world.

WHAT MAY HAPPEN IN THE PACIFIC

BY HARRY C. DOUGLAS

IN the Pacific America has very real interests, at once political and physical. As I shall show, if certain possibilities materialize in certain ways, United States possessions in the Philippines, the Sulu Islands and Guam, will be wholly isolated from Hawaii, Samoa and—a *fortiori*—from the Pacific coast of this continent.

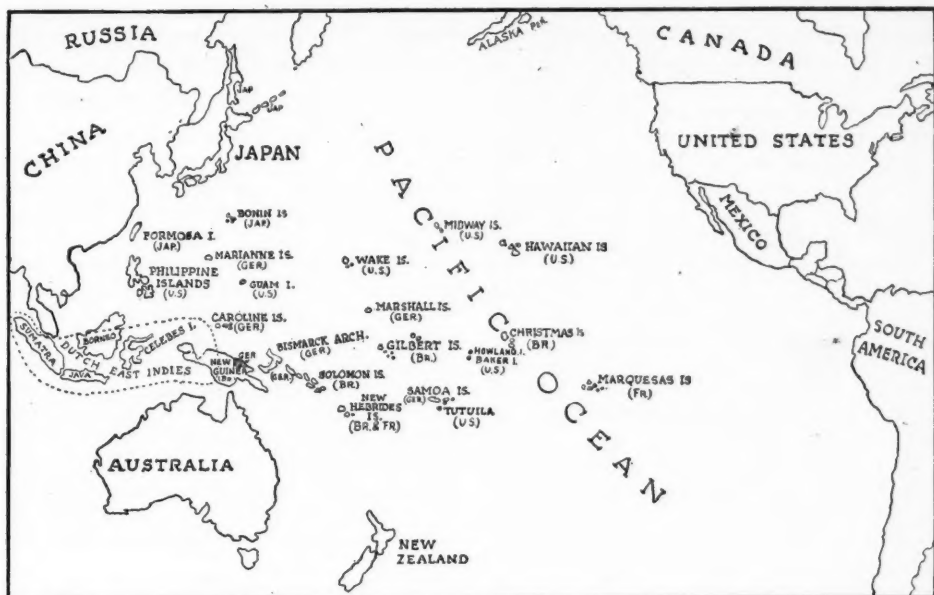
If it be true that history is being made on the battlefields, it is none the less true that it is being made behind the closed doors of the various belligerent council chambers. Indeed, upon the decisions of these councils depend in large measure the operations in the field. Those anxious to gain some foreknowledge of the final result of the colossal moves and counter-moves in the inter-play of international affairs will predicate wide of the mark unless some faint whispers reach them from behind those tightly shut doors. Such a whisper is that telling of the real reason for the much-advertised visit of W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, to London during 1916, a visit fraught with

possibilities almost as serious to the American as to the Australian people. To understand this matter rightly, a review of certain facts and conditions is necessary.

AUSTRALIA'S ATTITUDE

When the war began, Andrew Fisher was Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia. With his declaration that his country stood with Britain "to the last man and the last shilling," Australia started her career as a Pacific ocean power. And Australia is bigger in territory than Continental United States, although her population is less than that of Greater New York. She now has 300,000 men under arms. Her efficient young navy already has rendered signal service.

Before the war, the Commonwealth firmly and passionately stood by a great national policy—"White Australia!" Australians of all classes and political affiliations regard that policy much as Americans regard the Constitution. It is their most articulate article of



INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER POWERS IN THE PACIFIC

(Territory held by Germany before the war, and taken from her, is indicated as German on this map)

faith. The reason is not far to seek. The Commonwealth is the most sparsely populated of all the civilized countries of earth; it has about one-and-a-half persons to every square mile. And the Commonwealth has windows looking out upon Asia with its teeming millions, for whom some outlet would seem an imperative and immediate necessity. China (and dependencies) has, on the average, 82 persons to the square mile, Japan (and dependencies) over 273. Or take it another way: Australia has 5,000,000 people; China, 320,650,000; Japan, 71,921,775. "White Australia" was all that hindered Asiatics from swarming all over the island continent in overwhelming numbers. If the integrity of the country were to be preserved, if the land were to be kept for the unrestricted development of an English-speaking, white democracy, Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese had to be excluded.

Australians were—and are—frankly distrustful of Japan. Necessity and national interest in this war have made strange bed-fellows. Australians are by no means slumbering soundly beside their Oriental bed-fellow. Before the war they regarded the Japanese as the British—as witness Kipling and his school—regarded the Russians not so many years ago; as the French—with "La revanche!" as their slogan and uneasiness in their hearts—regarded the Germans. The

Australians were in a quandary: they were determined not to admit the Japanese; they wished to avoid the instant, troublous complications that would follow crude, wholesale discrimination. The Immigration Act of 1901, by which "White Australia" received its official frank, offered a solution that for bland but effective simplicity would be hard to beat.

The act provided that all immigrants must pass a dictation test of not less than fifty words: thus the test is one of literacy, not race. The joker in the act prescribed that the dictation be given in a *European language*. If the educated Asiatic seeking admittance into the country can speak, say, English, French and German, he is given the test in Russian, Danish or Czech—any European tongue which it is all Australia to a punkstick he does not know. So much for Asiatic exclusion. Come we now to the crucial point.

JAPAN'S PART IN THE WAR.

Nippon, ranging herself on the side of the Entente, gave concrete expression to the twice-renewed Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902. German New Guinea and German Samoa already had fallen to expeditions from Australia and New Zealand, respectively. By the capture of Tsingtau and the Marshall Islands, Japan disposed of the remnants of German power in the Orient and the Pa-

cific: the German Pacific Protectorate—*Das Deutsche Südsee Schutzgebiete*—was no more. Japanese war vessels, relieving the overtaxed British fleet, policed the sea lanes of the Pacific, escorted Australasian troop-ships, convoyed Australasian food-ships. Japan supplied immense quantities of war material to Russia. Tokio demanded a *quid pro quo* from London. St. James's faced the knottiest of knotty problems: the wishes of the Mikado's Government could not be met without giving the most serious offense to Australians—without, indeed, conflicting with Australia's most jealously guarded territorial rights. Of all the possible concessions to Japan, not one could be granted without inflaming Australian public opinion to a dangerous degree.

And so W. M. Hughes, who had succeeded Fisher as Prime Minister, was summoned to London. Other things there were to discuss with the Commonwealth political leader, too; those things, for the most part, the world has learned. But the real reason of his summons to Imperial headquarters was that the British Government might take soundings as to the possibility of some mitigation of the "White Australia" policy to meet Japan's wishes. Let us examine the alternatives—alternatives quite in line with Japanese expansion policy in the Far East and the Pacific.

THE PROBLEM OF NEW GUINEA

Counting Australia as a continent, New Guinea is the world's largest island. Before the war New Guinea was divided among: Australia, Germany and Holland. The capture of German New Guinea by an Australian force in September, 1914, rendered Australian hegemony complete. The country, wonderfully rich in natural resources, could be developed by the Japanese with readiness and profit.

"We took German New Guinea and we're going to hold it," I was told again and again in Australia. "We will not give it up—even to England, or at England's suggestion. And we will slam the door in the face of all Asia if we have to. We would rather cut loose from the British Empire than turn over New Guinea and so bring the Asiatic menace to our very back door."

The problem is over a quarter of a century old. Queensland (one of the Australian states) annexed that part of New Guinea lying opposite her shores in 1883, but the British Government disallowed the act.

In 1884 a British protectorate was proclaimed. The territory was placed under Commonwealth authority in 1906.

AUSTRALIA'S NORTHERN TERRITORY.

Australians fear the other Japanese alternative even more than this: that alternative would allow the Nipponese entry into Australia itself—particularly into the Northern Territory.

Roughly, one-third of Australia is within the tropics; a goodly portion of this third is the Territory region, nearest to Southern Asia of all the island continent. The Northern Territory is about as big as Texas, California and Oregon combined. In this vast area—523,620 square miles—are only 4,000 whites. Right here is one of the country's most serious problems. So far, whites have not been able to inhabit and develop the Territory to any satisfactory or appreciable extent. The Japanese, who could do both, are excluded.

The need has been for a good class of southern European immigrants; but so far the Commonwealth has not been able to secure this. The great area is practically delivered to Nature and the "blackfellows," as the aborigines are called. Asiatics know that they could make this region, now so largely desert, "blossom as the rose." "White Australia" is all that hinders. Is it any wonder Tokio wants to see this prohibitive policy abrogated, or at least mitigated, in its favor?

Australian civilization is little more than a partial fringe round the continental coastline of 12,210 miles. The coast and its hinterlands are settled and developed, although not completely for the entire circumference; in the center of the country lie the apparently illimitable wastes of the Never-Never Land, occupied entirely by scrub, snakes, sand, and blackfellows.

The almost manless regions of the island continent are a terrible menace. It is impossible to police at all adequately such an enormous area. And the peoples of Asia, beating at the bars that confine them, rousing at last from their age-long slumber, are chafing at the restraints imposed upon their free entry into and settlement of such uninhabited, undeveloped lands.

I had left Australia when Hughes returned thither from Europe. What he told the British Government as to the possibility of relieving London's embarrassment due to maintenance of the "White Australia" ban upon England's Asiatic allies, I cannot say.

No politician, though, would dare to come before the Australian people with any proposition—no matter how guarded or disguised—to permit Asiatic immigration.

THE STRENGTH OF THE LABOR UNIONS

A factor in the situation that should not be lost sight of is the dominance of labor in the Commonwealth. Australia is a vassal of union labor, which cracks the whip freely over the backs of its elected representatives, even when those representatives are as highly placed as the Prime Minister. The real rulers of Australia are not Hughes and his cabinet, not the Governor-General, not the British Government, not even the sheep-kings and coal barons, but the trade unions. It was unionized labor's hostility towards the importation of cheap Asiatic labor that laid the foundations of "White Australia," the policy that later became a national charge.

The strong republican sentiment rife in Australia a quarter of a century or so ago is at least as strong, in proportion to population, now as then. It will have to be reckoned with in the future. In none of the British dominions—and I know them all—not even in South Africa, is there such openly expressed, secretly cherished desire to "cut the painter" of Imperial relations. I think this is due to three things: the bitter memory still preserved in the country of the stigma attaching to its early settlement by convicts from Great Britain; the distance from London and isolated geographical situation of the island continent; the dominating influence of labor and Socialistic ideals stressing internationalism rather than that refinement and ennobling of nationalism called patriotism.

"There's nothing in this Imperial business for us," I was told again and again by trade unionists in Australia. "The Empire doesn't feed our families and pay our house rent. All we get we have to work for and fight the employing class for. We haven't such a stake in the country after all. We've got no quarrel with the workers of Germany and Austria. As we see it, nobody stands to get much out of this war except the big men on both sides: all they want us to do is to foot the bills and supply the cannon fodder. And as far as we're jolly well concerned they can do the fighting."

To offset this, the most enlightened, far-seeing and rational men of the country are, perhaps, more loyal to the Empire than their fellow subjects of any other British dominion.

These men realize that they have to fight, not only the Empire's enemies abroad, but their own narrow-minded, class-blinded compatriots at home.

Nor do all labor men take the narrow view. When I left Australia, the Australian Workers' Union, the most powerful industrial organization in the country, and one of the most influential in the world, had more than 20,000 of its members with the colors. For the most part, the republicans are to be found among the younger generation, among the idealists of the labor movement, among the visionaries who look to internationalism as the world's best protection against war. Such men would be willing to claim the hordes of Asia as their brothers to-morrow, if those hordes would only unionize and keep up wages to the Australian standard. The republicans are ardent admirers of America. They, in large measure, were responsible for the defeat of conscription. But with things as they are, if Great Britain were to offer Japan any concessions conflicting with the "White Australia" policy, the entire people—republicans and Imperialists—would decide against the motherland, announce their independence, and fight Asiatic immigration tooth and nail, politically and physically.

JAPAN'S NEEDED OUTLET

And withal some concessions will have to be made. Japan will not consent forever to pull the Entente's Far Eastern and Pacific chestnuts out of the general conflagration and see, as one of her rewards, her people discriminated against as immigrants into countries allied with her.

Even if Japan had no political aspirations in the Orient and the Pacific, her overcrowded condition would force some policy of expansion upon her. Already she has a measure of political and commercial control in China: owing to the fact that the great powers of Europe have engaged all their resources in the war, she can consolidate and increase this control almost indefinitely. But China, with her own teeming millions, offers Japan no outlet for physical expansion; and that she must have.

New Guinea and the Northern Territory of Australia—or either—would give her the needed outlet. England might like to say "Yes," and so dispose of a troublesome question. If Hughes told even half the truth when he was in London, England's lips must remain sealed; her ears must be deaf to her Japanese ally's pleading. And the affirmative

would be, after all, an ill return for the Commonwealth's aid to the mother country in this war. The Asiatic question—diplomatic and academic as far as the Anglo-Japanese relationship is concerned—is a question of life or death to Australians.

There remain Sumatra, Java, the Celebes, Dutch New Guinea and Dutch Borneo—Holland's East Indian empire—which would support populations many times larger than the entire population of the Mikado's domains. With England's connivance, Japan might enter into possession of these islands any time she chose. A *casus belli* would not be wanting, for Tokio long has resented the alleged discrimination shown by the East Indian Dutch against Japanese.

ISOLATION OF AMERICAN POSSESSIONS

Any such move would have three significant results: the United States' possessions—the Philippines, the Sulus, and Guam—would be shut in by Japan and Formosa (Japanese) on the north, and by a chain of Japanese colonies on the south; the British would have the Japanese for fellow colonists in Borneo and New Guinea; the Asiatic menace would be moved down to within actual striking distance of the almost entirely uninhabited northern coasts of Australia.

If some final settlement were made favoring Japanese tenure of the Marshall Islands, the American colonies named would be quite ringed in and cut off from Hawaii. Their isolation from the Pacific coast of continen-

tal America would be even more complete.

Around the checker-board of the Pacific Fate has set five nations—the United States, Canada, Australia (with which may be included New Zealand under the general term Australasia), China, and Japan. For the present, China and Canada may be eliminated for one reason or another. What the alignment of the English-speaking races may be in the event of serious disputes in the Pacific cannot be told with certainty; that would depend upon the nature of the disputes and the various national interests at stake. It is difficult to visualize at present any contingency in which the interests of Australasia and Canada would not be bound up with those of the United States.

Canada and Australia are both bigger than the United States. In both population and commerce they will grow apace in the next few years. Japan is enjoying an unprecedented trade boom. This is due partly to her strategic position, which has enabled her to take advantage of Russia's enormous demands, partly to the fact that she has inherited a lion's share of the trade formerly in the hands of Britain, Belgium, Germany, and other countries, the industries of which now are solely occupied with national war needs. And Japan must find some outlet for her surplus population: that is not an irresponsible, theoretical statement; it is an economic, concrete fact.

Fate is moving out her pawns upon the Pacific.

JAPAN AND AMERICA

BY PAYSON J. TREAT

(Professor of History, Stanford University)

[Dr. Treat's article will be found especially timely in connection with Mr. McGrath's discussion of British Empire problems and Mr. Douglas's frank disclosure of Australian views. For a number of years Dr. Treat has given especial attention to the diplomatic history of Japan, and he is a strong advocate of good relations between that country and the United States.—THE EDITOR.]

THE first thing which impresses one who tries to study the Far Eastern situation from many angles is the amazing lack of a sense of proportion which distorts the conclusions of those who study the question from only one point of view. This distortion is very natural, and yet it is rarely realized. To the individual the thing at hand seems large, although in the general scheme of things it may prove to be of no importance at all. And this illusion persists in the study of such intangible things as "situations" and

"movements." One of the very best illustrations of this is found in the articles which have been written about Japan in the past dozen years.

A study of these articles and the opinions expressed therein brings out an amazing and really humorous complex of ideas, the sum total of which must be peculiarly gratifying to the men who have made Japan a great power. From these writings we learn, among other things, that Japan is about to establish control over China. Some put the case even

stronger than this, and one author in a recent book makes the most concrete statement of all: "At half-past 1 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, May 9, 1915, China, the oldest nation in the world, passed under the virtual domination of Japan." Other articles assure us that Japan is about to attack the United States in order to seize the Philippines, Hawaii, and the Pacific Coast States, and what purports to be the actual plan of the campaign of invasion and conquest has been published several times in American newspapers. From the Dutch East Indies we hear of the terror aroused there at the very name of Japan, and of their fears that as soon as the Great War is over Java and the other Dutch possessions, with their 38,000,000 inhabitants and their priceless resources, will fall into the hands of the Mikado's legions. Farther to the south comes the voice of Australia, where for a dozen years the fear of a Japanese invasion, as soon as the Anglo-Japanese alliance expires, has been repeatedly expressed. From Mexico we hear of the entrance of Japanese veterans, and the occupation of strategic points on the coast in readiness for the invasion of the country. From South America come similar stories, and Uncle Sam is warned that he will have to fight Japan in order to maintain the Monroe Doctrine. And then when the attention swings across the Pacific again, we find that even in French Indo-China there is some alarm lest Japan follow up her ousting of Germany from the East by evicting France as well. And it has also been charged that Japanese have been tampering with revolutionary leaders in India preparatory to helping them throw off the British yoke.

When any one of these alarms is raised it carries with it an air of probability. But when, at one and the same time, we find writers pointing out the danger immediately threatening China, Indo-China, and India, the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines, Australia and the islands of the Pacific, and the entire west coast of America from Alaska to Patagonia, then we must agree that some of these experts are sadly lacking in the sense of proportion, and that the sum of their prognostications is entirely too flattering for even so efficient and energetic a people as the Japanese.

At the risk of offending in this very matter of proportion, let us look at the situation from the American point of view. With the man who says that war is inevitable, and

that it will come without good reason or any reason at all, but just because the United States lies on one side of the Pacific and Japan on the other—with such a man it is impossible to reason. Wars do not come without reason, and generally they come with what is believed to be good reason and after a long period of discussion and friction. But in addition to this general cause of war between the United States and Japan, the following specific reasons are generally alleged.

Japan will declare war upon the United States, it is said:

1. Because of the immigration question.
2. Because of the treatment of Japanese in the United States.

3. Because of the desire to seize the Philippines, Hawaii, and even the Pacific Coast.

The United States will become involved in war with Japan:

1. For the maintenance of the "Open Door" in China.

2. For the defence of the "Monroe Doctrine" in South America.

When these statements are made individually or collectively they sound portentous. When they are analyzed, and studied with some sense of proportion they lose much of their hostile significance. At this point it should be said that this discussion is not based upon the idea that war is impossible and that national preparedness for war, from any quarter, is unnecessary or unwise. Preparedness is a national duty, and should be undertaken as such and with a firm conviction of the national needs. But the present analysis is solely to determine whether in the foregoing list of causes of war there exist any which are really inevitable.

As to the immigration question, a little thought will convince one that nations do not make war in order to force their subjects or citizens upon another state. The right to control immigration is a sovereign right; it has so far been respected, and doubtless will be in the future. In the case of Japan we have the Japanese Government recognizing the peculiar conditions in America and willingly agreeing to keep at home the laborers who would be unwelcome here. This agreement, known as the passport or "Gentlemen's" agreement, she has kept faithfully since its inception in 1907, so that as a matter of fact, there is no problem of Japanese immigration today. Nor will there be one as long as the two governments live up to this honorable understanding. Inci-

dently it should be recognized that if Japan were threatened with a mass immigration from any quarter, from Europe or America, from China, India, or the East Indies, she would find some way to restrict it as the United States has done.

In the matter of the treatment of Japanese in this country, a more difficult question is presented. With the solution of the immigration problem there should be no occasion for discriminatory legislation. The federal Government certainly will pass none, and it is doubtful if, after any full consideration of all the facts, any State legislature would do so in the future. But it is more difficult to control all the individuals in our communities, and there is always a danger that racial prejudice may occasion individual or local insults or injuries which may develop into international issues. To minimize this occasion for trouble should be the purpose of every thoughtful American.

And finally, as to the danger of a predatory raid upon the Philippines, Hawaii, and the Pacific Coast. In the first two instances there can be little question that Japan is and will be quite content as long as the United States remains in control. We have done much to improve the condition of the Filipinos, and as they increase in prosperity they offer a better market for Japanese goods, which is gratifying to Japan. And the United States has as yet shown no disposition to use its position in the Philippines as a base for an aggressive policy in Eastern Asia. As our presence in the Philippines presents no danger to Japan there is no reason for her to risk a suicidal war in order to evict us. We must give the Japanese statesmen credit for enough sound judgment to grasp that point. But if we withdraw from the Philippines, and the independence of the new state is not guaranteed by us or by a group of the powers, including Japan, then it would be idle to speculate as to what the future holds for the archipelago.

When we consider the invasion of California we come to a question which is above all a live one. With the men who believe that California can be easily invaded it is difficult to take issue, for no one wants the time to come when the arguments of either side will be subjected to the acid test of war. If our defenses are hopelessly weak, then common sense dictates that they should be strengthened. But in entering upon a war with the United States for the purpose of seizing California and the other coast States,

the important question for Japan to consider is not whether she could invade and even conquer any large part of that region; it is could she *hold* it? For if she should be forced out again she would have risked much and lost much and gained nothing—except the ill will of her best customer, her greatest neighbor, and her one-time best of friends. If it is possible for Japan to *hold* the Pacific Coast States, then it is also possible that such a successful adventure might appeal to the Japanese imagination. But how one can believe that any country could send a force five thousand miles across an ocean and hold a thousand miles of coast against a compact State with double the numbers and many times the wealth of the invaders is difficult to understand. In this discussion the emphasis must be placed on the permanent idea, to *hold*, and not on the temporary idea, to *invade*.

When consideration is given to the reasons why the United States should take the aggressive and eventually come to blows with Japan a similar feeling of unreality is the result. As to the "Open Door" in China, even if the advocate of a strong American policy knows the exact significance of the "Open Door" notes of Mr. Hay in 1899, he can find no basis for the statement that on America rests an *obligation* to defend the principles enunciated. The United States happens to be the only great power which has never written the open door principle into any of its treaties. Aside from the fact that Mr. Hay brought up the matter for consideration in 1899, the United States has less reason for interference in the Far East than Japan, Great Britain, Russia, and France, all of whom have assumed treaty obligations in the matter. While the United States may be expected to continue to be the good friend of China, ever ready to serve her in any peaceful way, it also may be assumed that the American people will never sanction a national policy which might involve them in an Asiatic war, either in defence of the integrity of China or in order to maintain or develop American commercial interests in that republic. China will have to work out her own destiny, and it does not take an unreasoned optimism to believe her capable of eventually working it out to her own satisfaction.

So with the threatened attack upon the Monroe Doctrine in South America. If Japan can be thought of as coveting any of the South American republics, and as

being able to conquer and *hold* any or all of them, then the United States might well be involved in a war in defence of the Monroe Doctrine. But with the peaceful development of Japanese commerce with South America no one would expect the United States to interfere.

Over against these five possible occasions for friction and strife, there stand two great factors which make for peace and good understanding. These are really more important as elements in the general situation than the disturbing factors; for if nations want peace they can generally secure it.

First of these factors is the self-evident one that the United States is above all an American state, with her interests primarily within her own borders, and beyond them she looks toward Mexico, the West Indies, Central and South America. Our people have no desire to become involved in European affairs, and far less in Asiatic affairs. And if, through the rearrangement after the Great War, the United States enters a league of nations her influence can be counted upon for moderation in every quarter of the globe. In spite of the Japanese jingoes, and there are many in that land, the United States is not looking for trouble in Asia, nor may she be expected to do so.

And in a similar manner, Japan is above all an Asiatic state. Her interests are primarily wrapped up in Eastern Asia. The most superficial survey of the modern history of the Far East furnishes proof of that. From 1873 to 1910 Japan was most keenly interested in Korea. With the Russian advance into Manchuria she was forced to look beyond Korea to Manchuria, and her gaze is still centered on that spacious region. With the expulsion of Germany from Tsingtau and Shantung, Japan brought that province within her sphere of interest. Whether her policy be "Asia for the Asiatics" or a modified "Monroe Doctrine," in any case all the energy and resourcefulness of Japan will find an outlet in that part of the world.

If the program calls for the peaceful exploitation of the resources and commerce of China, that in itself is a big order. If an attempt should be made to extend political control over any part of China proper, that will call for a mighty effort. A legitimate program for Japanese development would be based upon the building up of her industrial system, the enlargement of her present splendid merchant marine, and the gaining of a position off Asia like that of England

off Europe, as the leading carrier and manufacturer of the goods of the East. The successful attainment of this idea will depend very largely upon the good will of the great Asiatic states from which the raw material may be obtained and to which the manufactured goods will be sold. From any point of view it would be suicidal for Japan to turn aside from the great work near at hand to plunge into a doubtful war with her powerful neighbor, America, once her most unselfish friend.

This attempt to look at the position of Japan from many angles, instead of from only one, should lead to certain reasonable conclusions. First, that all the alarms of the many agitators cannot be well founded. Secondly, that there is no present question at issue between the United States and Japan which cannot be settled by a recourse to the honorable and sympathetic diplomacy which has for so long characterized Japanese-American relations. And thirdly, that Japan with her great interests in Eastern Asia is by no means anxious to create difficulties for herself or for anyone else outside of that important region. How Japanese policy will be developed in that area time alone can tell. Perhaps in this particular Japan may cause the alarmists to revise some of their snap judgments, and perhaps China may have more to say than many now believe possible.

* * * * *

Since the above was written new interest in the attitude of Japan has been aroused by the German note proposing an alliance with Mexico and Japan against the United States. Few persons outside of Germany have taken the Japanese phase of this extraordinary proposal seriously. It would have called for black treachery on the part of Japan, the tearing up of the Anglo-Japanese and the Russo-Japanese alliances, both of which mean much to her, and war not only with the United States but with the Entente powers. The vigorous protestations from Tokio are what might well be expected. If the German Foreign Office actually believed that Japan might listen to such a proposal, it is merely another instance of its amazing inability to understand the feelings and interests of other peoples. A more reasonable explanation might be that the reference to Japan was inserted in order to encourage Mexico to take the offensive promptly before an actual alliance was found to be impossible.



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DR. GEORGE EDGAR VINCENT, WHO HAS RESIGNED HIS PLACE AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA TO SUCCEED JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR., AS PRESIDENT OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

AN EDUCATIONAL LEADER

ALL of our readers who are interested in educational matters will appreciate the unusual value of the article by President Vincent, of the University of Minnesota, that follows this preface. The school system of Minnesota, beginning with the country schools and the primary and grammar schools of the towns, leads up in a well-coordinated system to the State University, with its related College of Agriculture and its professional schools. Dr. Vincent has made it his business to keep in close touch with the entire system. Minnesota is taking a leading part in the national movement for consolidating country schools and for making them as modern and efficient as the schools of the towns. Dr. Vincent has personally led in the new steps that he here describes for us. In due time, if we mistake not, the establishment of these "teacherages" will have a profound part in the general upbuilding of home and farm life in thousands of American rural neighborhoods.

Dr. Vincent is about to leave Minnesota to enter upon a new field of work. But his dynamic energies are not to be withdrawn from education and philanthropy. He has accepted a call to the presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation, and will soon be established in the New York offices of that great board. He has for several years been a member, also, of the General Education Board, which is in many ways closely affiliated with the Foundation. Some attempts have been made recently, through ignorance or through malice, to mislead the public as respects the disinterestedness and value of the work that these boards, endowed by John D. Rockefeller, have been accomplishing. Suffice it to say that no work of a more intelligent or public-spirited nature, or more free from selfish aims and motives, has ever been performed by any group of men administering trust funds. Throughout the country George Vincent is known and trusted as an educational and social leader.



DEDICATING THE TEACHERS' HOUSE AT ALBERTA, MINNESOTA, WITH A PUBLIC CELEBRATION

CITY COMFORTS FOR COUNTRY TEACHERS

A MINNESOTA NEIGHBORHOOD SETS AN EXAMPLE TO THE NATION
BY GEORGE E. VINCENT

"COME in, friends; never mind the mud; this is your house and we want you to see every room in it." It took imagination and civic spirit for Superintendent Fred Grafelman, of the Alberta, Minnesota, Consolidated Rural School, to issue that invitation. A smaller man would have hesitated. Four hundred people were standing in front of the new Teachers' House which had just been formally dedicated to the service of rural education. An almost unprecedented February thaw had produced a slimy ooze. Within were spotless floors of well-finished maple. The thought of the invasion was enough to make a good housekeeper shudder. But the Superintendent saw that something more vital than clean floors was at stake. These citizens and guests must not be made to feel that the building was a private house. They must from the outset think of it as a part of the public school itself. So in they flocked, with calamitous feet and glad hearts.

Civic pride was the dominant note of the dedication day. A joint reception committee from the Commercial Club and the Woman's Club welcomed at the station the visitors

who came from a distance. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction journeyed from the Capital. The State University sent a representative. Students and faculty from one of the University's substations and agricultural schools drove ten miles across country in bob-sleighs. Many friends and neighbors from outside the district joined in the festivities. Pupils and their parents raised to nearly 500 the number in attendance. Congratulations from the visitors were hearty and gratifying. Alberta was being "put on the map." The citizens of the district thrilled with a sense of collective achievement. It was a great day for Alberta, a hamlet of 30 families with a school registration of 132 pupils of whom 95 are brought daily in public conveyances from the surrounding countryside.

A noon dinner for guests and officials was served in the high and well-lighted basement which in the new Teachers' House is equipped for the domestic science work of the school. The Commercial Club paid for the excellent meal which was cooked and served by the schoolgirls. The speeches were brief



SUPERINTENDENT FRED. GRAFELMAN, OF THE ALBERTA CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL, AND HIS FIVE TEACHERS

(The successful completion of the Teachers' House project was largely due to Mr. Grafelman's enthusiasm and civic spirit)

and to the point. The president of the School Board said he had never made an address before. He had something to say, said it clearly and sincerely, and sat down. The contractor merely rose and bowed, and asked the building to speak for him. If he had ever heard of Sir Christopher Wren he would have said "Circumspice". Three or four visitors offered congratulations. The best speech was made by the President of the Woman's Club. She was witty and clever, and at the end struck a true note of social idealism. One asked: "Who is *she*?" "Oh, a former school-teacher; I see." Let not the cynical deride the "mob of mobile maidens meditating matrimony." Alberta is only one of thousands of American communities which are the better because women trained as school-teachers have married and are living in them.

How so many people were packed into the two class-rooms, which thrown together make the auditorium of the Alberta School building, it would be hard to say. First the grown-ups were stowed away; then the chinks were filled with children of assorted sizes. It was a happy, well-contented

company, cheerfully absorbent of the amiable things the visitors said about the spirit and enterprise of the Alberta district. Fred Grafelman was praised for his enthusiasm, and his faith that the plan, at first regarded with suspicion, could be carried through. The contractor was lauded as an honest man who had contented himself with day wages. The local merchant who supplied the furniture for the Teachers' House at wholesale prices without profit to himself was called a good citizen. The members of the School Board were commended for their public spirit. Again the people were congratulated upon having given support to the project. To

mitigate the speech-making two of the teachers played a piano duet; the school chorus sang. At the end the whole company joined in "America." One looking on might well ask: "Is not this community feeling the beginning of real patriotism? Must not the individual learn first to merge himself in his neighborhood, before he can identify himself with his nation?"

Then came the formal exercises in front of the new house. The audience was shepherded into place; the band from the agricultural school played; the State Superintendent in a few words put the House at the service

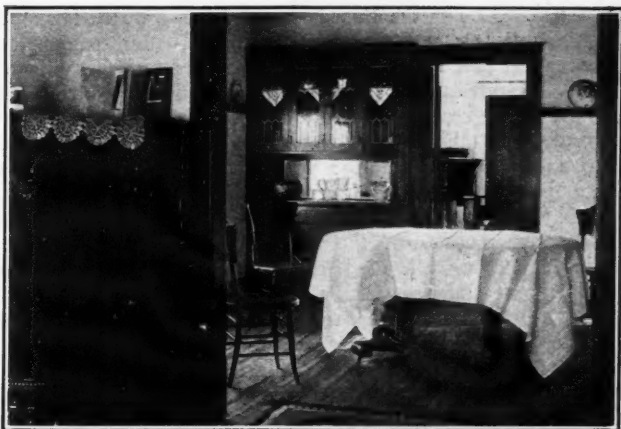


A NEW KIND OF BEDROOM FOR A COUNTRY TEACHER

(With hot water, electric light, heat, and a modern bath-room a few paces down the hall)

of the district and the State, declaring that Alberta had set an example to the Nation. It was at this point that Fred Grafelman gave his courageous invitation, and the eager assembly flocked in to see how the teachers were living, and to create on an heroic scale a house-cleaning problem for the department of domestic science. An hour later, the six school sleighs loaded with pupils jingled off into the country; the neighbors from the countryside followed; the visitors from a distance were escorted by the reception committee to the five o'clock "local," and Alberta became to all appearances what it had been early that morning. But these appearances were misleading, for Alberta can never be quite what it was before it built and dedicated the Teachers' House.

How did Alberta happen to embark on this venture? Here is the story in brief. The General Education Board has long been interested in fostering rural education, notably in the South. It was suggested to the Board that the housing of rural teachers, especially when they are grouped in consolidated schools, is pressing for solution, and that a few successful demonstrations of the results of providing at public expense suitable living quarters for groups of teachers

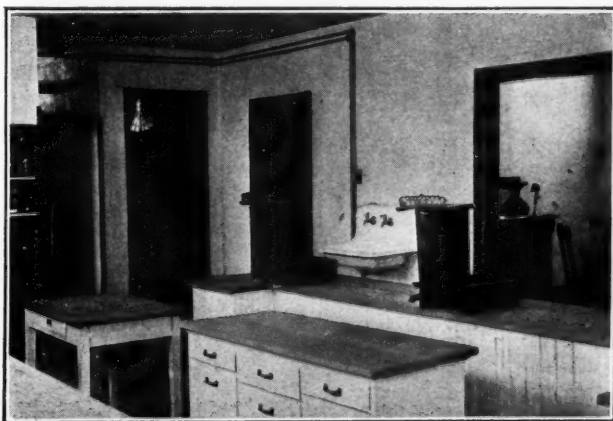


THE ALBERTA TEACHERS' MODERN DINING ROOM

(Looking from the reception-room, with its piano, suggesting cheerful evenings, one catches a glimpse of the kitchen, where an up-to-date gas range is prominent)

would be of real service. It was decided to try the experiment. Minnesota was selected because consolidation is progressing rapidly there; moreover, the winter climate renders the housing question peculiarly important. Alberta was given an opportunity to cooperate, because the Board had heard about Fred Grafelman and his idea of making his school not only an educational institution adapted to the life and needs of the community, but a social center as well, with a literary club, a chorus, a debating society, motion-pictures, etc. The Board offered to pay one-half of the expense of building and equipping a teachers' house provided the district would supply the other half of the total cost.

This offer was made in the early spring of 1916. Mr. Grafelman set to work with his usual enthusiasm. A group at once gave him support. But obstacles were quickly encountered. In addition to the usual inertia of any community there was active opposition. Some people feared that there was "a string to the gift"; others were alarmed at an increase in the bonded indebtedness; still others declared that the maintenance of the house would be a burden; the persons who were boarding the teachers viewed with alarm a communistic invasion of vested rights. So the struggle



THIS "HOME ECONOMICS LABORATORY," WITH ITS "PRACTISE DINING ROOM" THROUGH THE DOOR AT THE RIGHT, IS IN THE BASEMENT OF THE TEACHERS' HOUSE

continued. At last the Board voted to submit the question to the people. Then followed a campaign vigorous, and sometimes heated. Grafelman was several times in despair, but he kept on doggedly until finally the vote was taken. The bonds were authorized by a substantial majority. The house plans were rushed to completion; ground was broken early in October, 1916; the teachers moved into their new quarters during the first week of January, 1917.

The house stands on the school grounds about 100 feet from the school building. The high basement contains a large domestic science laboratory equipped with a regular range, a model practise dining-room appropriately furnished, a sewing-room, a modern laundry, the furnace room, and a girls' toilet. The first floor is a complete, self-contained apartment for the superintendent and his family. The suite includes an entrance hall, alcove for hats and coats, living-room, dining-room, kitchen, three sleeping rooms and a complete bathroom. On the second floor, wholly independent of the rest of the house and with separate front and rear entrances, is the apartment for teachers which contains a combination living and dining-room, a kitchen, four double sleeping rooms and a bath. The third floor or attic with large dormer windows affords space for three more sleeping rooms. The house is well heated—weather 35 degrees below zero and a sixty-mile wind tested this in January—by a hot-water furnace, and lighted by electricity

which is supplied by the local plant, a gasoline engine and dynamo set up in the rear of the village hardware store. The water supply comes from the driven well and pressure tank of the school building. The total cost of house and fittings was about \$7500, which came from the following sources: district \$3000, State \$500, General Education Board \$3500. Architect's fees, merchants' profits contributed, etc., \$500.

The finances of the house are naturally of interest. The total income of the School Board from the superintendent, who pays \$240 rent, and from the teachers, each of whom pays \$7 a month for nine months for her room, is \$555. Out of this the Board must pay for coal, extra janitor service, insurance, repairs, etc., meet 5 per cent interest on \$3000 of bonds, and if possible amortize the district's indebtedness. The Board now estimates that \$200 will be available annually for this purpose.

What about the cost to teachers? During the campaign it was predicted that they would have to pay \$30 per month, instead of the \$22 or \$25 which it was then costing them. Let us see how the plan is working out. The five teachers are living coöperatively with the teacher of domestic science in charge. A graduate of the school is employed as a maid. She performs the housework, helps with the cooking, and does the general washing. Her wages are \$4.50 per week, with room and board. In addition, for 15 cents a dozen, she washes and rough



NO LONG MILES FOR THE ALBERTA TEACHER TO WALK OR DRIVE TO SCHOOL IN ALL KINDS OF WEATHER. THE TEACHERS' COMFORTABLE HOME IS RIGHT BESIDE THE SCHOOLHOUSE

dries the personal laundry of the teachers who do the ironing for themselves. The total cost for the household for February was as follows:

Supplies (food, oil, fuel, etc)	\$40.55
Maid's wages	18.00
Electricity	1.00
Laundry	3.00
Rent	35.00
	<hr/>
	\$97.55

Equally divided among the five teachers, this makes the expense of each for four weeks, \$19.51. It should be explained that the stove in the domestic science department is available for baking, roasting, etc. An oil range is used in the teachers' kitchen. The cost of oil fuel is included in the total for supplies.

The teachers, two of them university graduates, three with normal school training, are delighted with their new living conditions. They say that they are conscious of doing their daily school work much better. Their attitude toward country teaching has been radically modified. On the open prairie they enjoy all the physical comforts and conveniences of the city. They form a con-

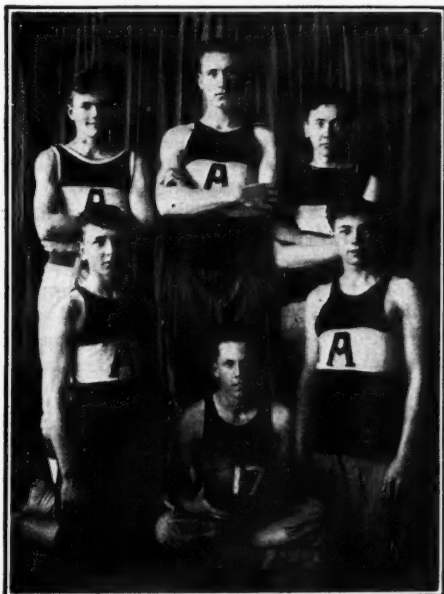


THE ALBERTA GIRLS ALSO PLAY BASKET-BALL
(Under the supervision of the principal at the right end)

genial group. "It's like living in a sorority house," said one of them. This, after all, is the real test of the plan. Will the House make it easier to secure and to hold the best type of teacher? Why, pray, should well-trained, self-respecting young women be asked to make sacrifices in order to teach in rural schools, when such sacrifices are wholly unnecessary?

The Teachers' House is usefully related to the school work in domestic science. The girls of the advanced class have access at times to the teachers' apartment which serves as a model of domestic arrangements. The cookery in the school classes is much of it done on a family scale with a regular stove. Only a part takes the form of miniature exercises carried out on oil stoves. While the teachers do not agree to purchase the whole output of the classes, as a matter of fact a large part of it is brought for the co-operative table upstairs. This plan reimburses the school supply fund, and gives the young cooks a sense of actuality in their work. Future plans include a school garden and summer canning classes, the product to be purchased for the teachers' table.

The fact that the whole school staff is living at the school gives the institution a more vividly local character, and dignifies it in the eyes of young and old. The "suitcase" rural teacher who arrives from a neighboring town reluctantly at the last moment Monday morning, and escapes eagerly at the earliest opportunity Friday afternoon, is ordinarily not to be blamed. At the same time her attitude does not suggest a fondness for country life. She turns her pupils'



THE ALBERTA SCHOOLBOYS' BASKET-BALL TEAM



THE SCHOOL BOARD OF ALBERTA
(Which had an important share in the progressive enterprise of a "teachers' house")

thoughts toward town as a more desirable place. A group of resident teachers, on the other hand, living contentedly in the community and sharing its interests fosters local self-respect and contributes to civic loyalty. Thus the Teachers' House not only helps the school; it affects favorably the entire district. It becomes a source of suggestion to the people of the community, especially to the women. They see the possibilities of introducing conveniences into their own houses; they learn that simple, sincere, tasteful furniture and decorations are to be preferred to machine carving, plush upholstery, and "hand paintings."

It should be understood that the public provision of housing for teachers is no new thing. Germany and France, Denmark and, to some extent, Norway and Sweden have long furnished dwellings for village and rural teachers. Nor is the plan wholly novel in the United States. Bungalows and cottages for two, three or four teachers are common in the State of Washington and in California. North Dakota has a large number. St. Louis County, Minnesota, provides separate cottages, and in some cases, combines in one building schoolrooms and living quarters for two or three teachers. In many States there are isolated experiments. Some-

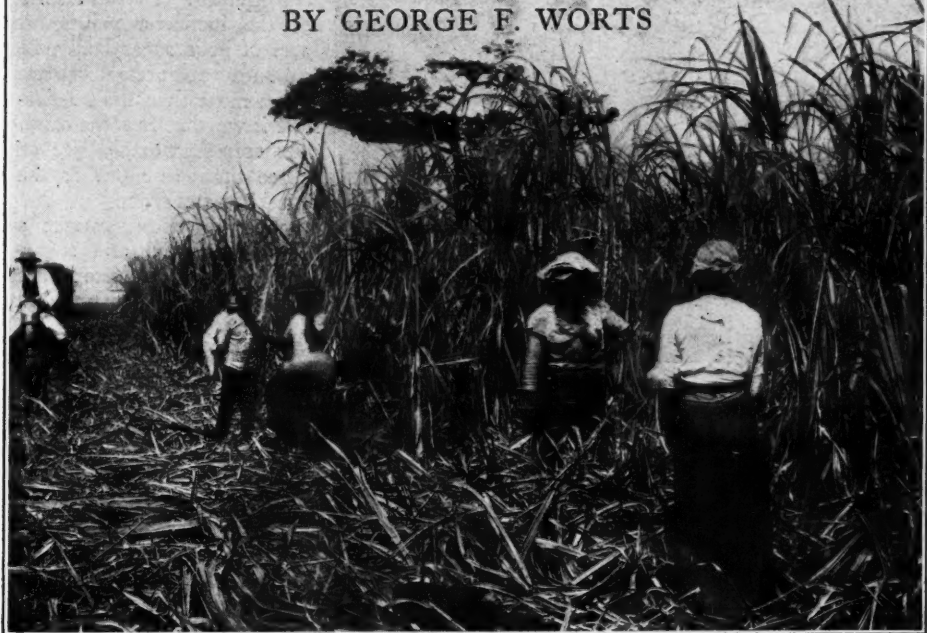
times old school buildings are remodeled for the purpose. Again a school board will rent a dwelling and sublet it to teachers. A privately financed teachers' house in an Illinois village is said to pay 8 per cent. on the investment. Most of these housing provisions, however, are made in connection with rural schools either of the one-room type or of the small, graded sort. The Alberta House is significant for its city-apartment character, its proximity to the school, its close relation to the school work, its completely official nature, its social as well as educational value.

The speakers who at the Alberta dedication insisted that the day had national importance were not merely flattering local pride. They meant that rural education is of vital concern to the country as a whole. If the countryside is to be saved from tenancy and its consequences, is to be a source whence able individuals may be drawn into the service of all, rural education must be put upon a level with urban training. The conditions of good education are: competent, loyal teachers, expert supervision, proper housing and modern equipment. Consolidation of rural schools is solving for the country the last two problems; the second is being urged with some success. Many factors will contribute to the solution of the first. Among these the teachers' house must be reckoned next to professional training and adequate salaries. The dedication at Alberta was of national significance. Within a few years the teachers' house will be included as a matter of course in the bond issues for consolidated rural-school plants.

It may be well to add that the General Education Board has no thought of making offers to a large number of districts. Arrangements have been made with two other school. Bulletins containing house plans, financial statements, reports upon various phases of the experiments, will in due time be published in large editions and given wide distribution. The Board will rest content with making available for School Boards and the public trustworthy data concerning the operation of a few teachers' houses in connection with typical consolidated rural schools.

THE SUGAR BOOM IN CUBA

BY GEORGE F. WORTS



CUTTING THE CANE IN A SUGAR FIELD

FOUR years ago plantation and mill owners in Cuba were scarcely able to eke out a comfortable existence. Many of them were on the verge of failure. At that time the world demand for sugar made a definite impression on the Cuban market. In the years following, which prepared the island for the sugar boom of to-day, the price of sugar has mounted gradually. This was a substantial rise. It had none of the aspects of an artificial boom. The result of the continuous, if leisurely, climb was that cane-growers were coaxed to increase their yield. They hoped, with the Spanish confidence in fate, that something would happen to swell this irritatingly slow tide of gold.

Then complications arose in Europe. The German beet-sugar supply was cut off. Prices leaped. Cuban plantation owners were prepared. Nearly every one of them has since become wealthy. Cuba is now enjoying an era similar to that of the California gold rushes in the late forties, or the more recent oil boom in Oklahoma.

While the sudden rise and fall of pros-

perity in a gold-mining community is caused by the rapid exhaustion of the metal, Cuba's sugar lands, even where cultivation, without fertilization has been carried on for fifty or sixty years, seem inexhaustible. The soil is one of the richest to be found in any part of the world.

The forced retirement of Germany as a competitor was the immediate cause of Cuba's prosperity, but slower forces have been at work for years and are even more vital. The world has shamelessly cultivated and pampered an insatiable sweet tooth. Sugar used to be a luxury. Witness now the soda-fountain and candy-store, which flourishes one to the square block in almost every American community. America does not stand alone. England and Denmark are ravenous sugar-eaters. Spain and Italy alone seem to be moderate. Since 1880 the per capita sugar consumption in the United States has gone up from approximately forty pounds to ninety. In thirty-six years our national sugar consumption has quadrupled. Cuba's sugar production this year exceeds the entire



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HAULING THE CANE TO THE SUGAR HOUSE BY OX CART

world's output of that staple fifty years ago.

For the fiscal year of 1913-1914, which was Germany's last export season before the war, the sugar production of the two countries nearly balanced. Germany's sugar ledger showed a production of 2,674,986 tons of beet sugar, while Cuba boasted 2,597,732 tons of cane sugar. It is doubtful if Germany will regain for many years, if ever, her prestige as the greatest sugar-growing nation.

With the influx of gold from all parts of the world Cuban plantation values have increased enormously. In many cases they have doubled and trebled. Even in spite of the increased values an acre of good sugar land will produce at present prices often more than the land itself is worth. In some cases, the crop is worth twice or three times as much as the land it comes from.

One American bought a huge plantation and sugar-mill, paying an exorbitant price for the property. Yet his profits at the end of the year overbalanced the entire cost.

Penniless young Cubans by the score have become wealthy in an equally surprising fashion. Consider for a moment the business romance of the typical young Cuban of to-day. Nearly all mills own large plantations. They provide one of the chief sources of the cane, but are often inadequate to meet the demands of the machinery. In order to operate the mill continuously the owner resorts to a plan which is a faint echo of feudal-



A SUGAR MILL IN OPERATION

(The sugar cane enters the crusher through the chute at the upper left-hand side of the picture)



© Brown & Dawson

BOILING THE SUGAR SYRUP

ism. Frequently he owns great tracts of arable land which have not been cleared of jungle growth. If a young Cuban in his employ is intelligent and honest, he may lease the land to him at very low rental, often for nothing at all, and loan him enough money to clear the tract and set out his first crop.

In return for this generous treatment the young Cuban delivers his cane for extraction to the mill of his benefactor. A little more than one-tenth, by weight, of cane is convertible into raw sugar. Of this yield the young Cuban receives half, which he sells at the market price, while the mill-owner keeps the other half in payment.

Small fortunes have resulted to the young plantation lessee through this reciprocal arrangement. Within the past five years many energetic Cubans have realized as much as \$250,000 on initial investments of from \$15,000 to \$20,000, all of which was borrowed. Most of these young men have added to their wealth by re-leasing, for large sums, to corporations. As a result, much of the money now invested in Cuban sugar projects can be traced directly to the United States. When the sugar tariff next comes before Congress the fact that many American citizens are deeply interested in Cuban sugar projects will lend complications to an issue which, at its simplest, has always been a hard problem to solve.

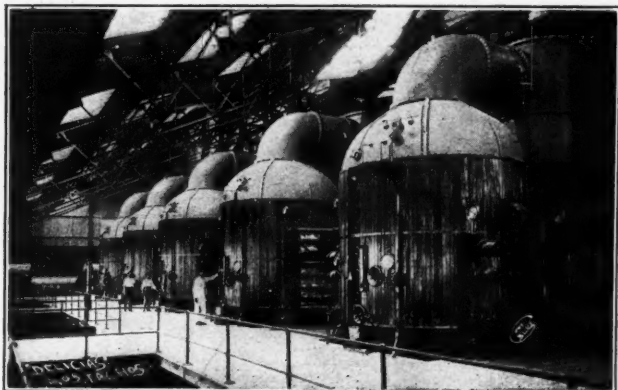
In more ways than the mere

inflation of land values has Cuba reflected the conditions of our Western gold-rush days. Fortunes are being made in other mediums than first-grade sugar, just as fortunes during the gold rushes were made in other ways than the mining of gold. Second-grade sugar, for example, is now made into alcohol and shipped to France for use in the manufacture of explosives. Molasses, another by-product, is sold at large profit to rum distilleries.

In fact, all Cuban industries have been stimulated by the activity of the world's sugar market, and hundreds of men, with small and large capital, have gone in to make quick fortunes. The only cog in her industrial system which seems to have slipped is the railroad. Four or five years ago the single-track roads were sufficient. But last spring, when every sugar-mill on the island was frantically demanding cars for the shipment of its product to the seaports, the railroads failed them miserably. Thousands of bags of sugar lay for weeks in inland storehouses because of inadequate freight facilities.

Yet the railroads are not entirely to blame. Prosperity came with such haste, when it did come, that the demands for freight carriage nearly doubled. It was impossible for the railroads to rise instantly to the occasion. Cuban jungles present no ordinary construction difficulties, and months were required for the delivery of rolling stock from the United States, whose steel-mills had eyes glued to the profitable shrapnel industry.

The demands made upon the sugar-mills themselves were met with greater agility. The struggling mill-owners did not lose their heads when prosperity arrived. The majority of them had been suffering from lack



THE GREAT VATS WHERE THE LIQUID IS EVAPORATED FROM THE SUGAR SYRUP

of proper equipment and wisely reinvested their first profits in better machinery. As a result, these mills will be able to extract sugar from cane at a profit when prices fall in the future.

Attention has lately been turned to the electrified mill. American electrical engineers have already installed nearly thirty electrical equipments in the 188 mills now in operation. The chief advantage of electricity in mills is its dependability. A mill breakdown during the busy season costs \$6 a minute, or over \$8,000 a day. Either with electrical or improved steam machinery, the mill-owner is preparing himself against the drop in prices which will result when the war is over and Germany reenters the field.

The production of Cuban sugar could be doubled, according to experts, without expanding the present area, if intensive cultivation were practised. The present handicap is a shortage of labor. The total population of Cuba is only two and one-half millions, and the laboring class is unable to meet the demands imposed upon it. As a result, wages have been raised, and all manner of devices are resorted to on the different plantations to keep the laborer from deserting.

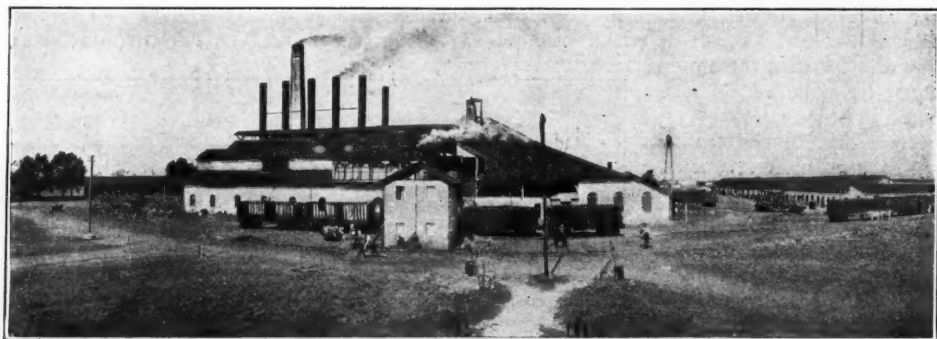
The life of the average plantation worker would belie the picture which many Americans have drawn in their imaginations. It is true that he is uneducated, and it is equally untrue that he is treated as a slave. He is too much in demand, and he is fully aware of the fact. As a result, he has become a pampered individual. Coupled with his ignorance is a growing insolent assurance. He is

quickly moved to violence, and he indulges freely in the *mañana* habit, which is laziness intensified. He plays the state lottery twice a month with religious regularity. He steep himself in bad native rum, and is exceedingly dangerous at the end of a long cane knife, which resembles the Mexican *machette*. In the eastern end of the island, which is still in the throes of pioneering, it is a common sight to see plantation-owners armed with carbines slung across their saddles, automatic revolvers of generous caliber protruding handily from bristling bullet belts, and long sheathed knives at their hips. The plantation laborer, indeed, is Cuba's most perplexing problem.

The attitude of Cuban business men towards Americans is increasingly friendly. The younger generation of Cubans is receiving education in American schools and universities. American business men are realizing more and more the importance of a knowledge of Spanish in their Cuban dealings. The European war has acted as a cement in uniting the sympathies of the two republics. The only conceivable result of this better understanding is a more substantial business relationship.

"What does Cuba expect to do with all of this money that has been pouring into the island?" I asked one sugar man in Havana who has made over a million dollars in the past year.

"What will we do with it all?" he repeated with a true Spanish elevation of the eyebrows. "We'll spend it all on Broadway, New York, as usual, I suppose."



EXTERIOR VIEW OF A CUBAN SUGAR PLANT

(On the right of the entrance are the loaded cars discharging the cane, the empty cars leaving on the left)

THE INSURRECTION IN CUBA

THE model child in that family of republics bordering on the Caribbean Sea has erred, after the manner of her wayward sisters. Whenever Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, or Santo Domingo had been in the throes of revolution, it was customary to point to modern Cuba as the example of progress and prosperity by reason of orderly government attained through Uncle Sam's mildly restraining influence.

But even in Cuba the Latin-American impulse to settle political differences by force has not been entirely overcome. A close Presidential contest in November was followed by a prolonged and bitter dispute, with charges of fraud and demands for a recount of votes. Upon the face of the returns, President Mario G. Menocal (Conservative) was reelected, defeating Dr. Alfredo Zayas (Liberal). New elections were ordered in several provinces, but before they could be held an attempt was made to unseat President Menocal by force.

The situation was identical with that which brought an American intervention in 1906, and it was forced by the same discontented leaders. Tomas Estrada Palma had then been reelected President by the Conservatives, and the Liberal candidate, Gen. José Miguel Gomez, claimed that he had been defeated by fraud. When the losing candidate fails at the polls, his followers create a disturbance which threatens destruction of property and the downfall of the successful candidate through American intervention. The method is simple.

President Menocal, however, proved to be of sterner caliber than had President Palma. Instead of pleading for support from Washington, he adopted energetic measures for suppressing the insurrection, and called for volunteers.

Meanwhile, the moral support of the United States was tendered and accepted. Secretary Lansing gave prompt warning that "the armed revolt against the Constitutional Government of Cuba is considered by the United States Government as a lawless and unconstitutional act, and it will not be countenanced." Perhaps the Liberals in Cuba had expected otherwise; for the revolutionists, Madero, Huerta, and Carranza, had in turn become President of Mexico, not to

mention similar incidents in various other neighboring republics.

The Cuban Government's first intimation of trouble had come on February 9, when a loyal non-commissioned officer gave information of a seditious plot in the army, directed against President Menocal. Actual mutiny began two days later, and on the third day the revolt became serious. Armed civilian bands joined in, and soon one-third of the island was affected—in the provinces of Oriente, Camaguey, and Santa Clara, at the eastern end. The movement failed, however, to enlist real support either in the army or among the people; and from the beginning it was destined to fail.

The campaign developed slowly, chiefly because of the military weakness of the Government. The republic has never maintained a large army. Furthermore, it was the policy to deal with the smaller bands first; and one after another was met and defeated. An engagement on March 7, in Santa Clara province, resulted in the capture of ex-President José Miguel Gomez, declared to have been the leader of the revolution. General Gomez had also been the chief figure in the uprising of 1906, which brought on American intervention and his own election two years later. He is the leader of the Liberal party, dominant though temporarily out of power through factional strife; and he is quite generally considered to be the chief force retarding the island republic's progress toward permanent stability.

The revolt centered at Santiago, where Major Rigoberto Fernandez seized the city and harbor. He claimed to have 5000 well-armed men, and for a month he remained in possession of Cuba's second largest city. Several hundred American marines were landed on March 8, to protect foreign interests. At the same time the insurrectionists retired to the interior, with the avowed intention of maintaining a destructive guerrilla warfare.

The elections set for February had been postponed because of the revolt; but President Menocal's course during the crisis vastly strengthened his position, and there is no doubt of his reelection for the term beginning on May 20. His opponent, Dr. Zayas, kept himself secluded during the revolution, and it is not known what part he played in it.

COMPULSORY HEALTH INSURANCE

BY THOMAS H. SIMPSON

"I am strongly of the opinion that there is no form of social insurance that is more humane, sounder in principle, and that would confer a greater benefit upon large groups of our population and upon the commonwealth as a whole than health insurance." In his inaugural address to the Massachusetts Legislature at the beginning of the year Gov. Samuel W. McCall used these words. He followed them up with a recommendation that a compulsory system be established. During the winter the Massachusetts Commission reported in favor of such a system and a commission in California took similar action. The following article traces the growth and crystallization of health-insurance sentiment in a dozen States, as revealed by the legislative campaign, and at the same time summarizes the arguments of the opposition—a vigorous and powerful one.—THE EDITOR.

TWO State commissions, the first of their kind in this country, one in California and the other in Massachusetts, have reported in favor of legislation providing for compulsory health insurance of wage-earners, which is being advocated as the next great step in social reform now that workmen's compensation laws have been enacted in most of the industrial States. Bills have been introduced or reintroduced since the beginning of the year in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Washington, and Missouri, and a campaign for a constitutional amendment is under way in California.

In fact, the movement has gained such momentum during the short space of time in which it has been under way that its chief sponsors are having difficulty in keeping up with it. On the other hand, however, powerful opposition is developing, based largely upon a belief that compulsion is a violation of American ideals and traditions, that except in the case of Germany the experience of nations which have adopted health insurance has been too short to furnish conclusive evidence, and that available information as to sickness, wages, existing facilities for insurance, and other factors of the problem, is inadequate for purposes of legislation.

ECONOMIC LOSS CAUSED BY SICKNESS

The apparent popularity of the proposal rises from the growing recognition of the need of additional means to alleviate dis-

treas among the workers. There are never less than 3,000,000 persons ill in the United States at any one time, and it is estimated that our 30,000,000 wage-earners each lose on account of sickness an average of nine days in every year, the resultant wage loss alone being anywhere from \$500,000,000 to \$800,000,000 annually. Far more dependency is caused by sickness than by accidents, one study having shown the ratio of sickness to accidents in dependency cases as 38 is to 4.

Sickness is given as the immediate cause of from 40 to 80 per cent. of the destitution which the charity organizations deal with. As a matter of fact, it is poverty that is the primary cause of sickness, just as it also is the root of virtually all other manifestations of social disorder; but there is no denying that thousands of families in distress would have avoided suffering had their breadwinners escaped illness. That shorter hours, hygienic working conditions, and higher wages with consequently better living conditions might have precluded the illness is not the point; for under health insurance sickness might occur and yet cause no serious financial distress. But the aim of compulsory health insurance is to stimulate prevention as well as to afford protection. The system used in Prussia, for example, is said to have produced a marked increase of longevity in the last two decades, whereas in the United States during the same period deaths from degenerative diseases in middle age are said to have increased by 40 per cent. The accuracy of statements regarding sick-

ness and mortality rates both in this country and abroad is, however, generally challenged by the opponents of compulsory insurance.

ORGANIZED EFFORTS FOR AND AGAINST HEALTH INSURANCE

The United States is the only great industrial nation that is without social insurance. The compulsory form obtains in Germany, Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, Luxemburg, Norway, Serbia, Russia, Rumania, and Holland, and a subsidized voluntary system has been adopted in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden. The idea originated in Germany, where it was adopted in 1883 under Bismarck. England did not follow the example of other countries until 1911. The agitation for its adoption here was begun four years ago by the American Association for Labor Legislation, whose president, Irving Fisher, Professor of Political Economy at Yale, recently said that Germany's "wonderful progress, her comparative freedom from poverty, reduction in the death rate, advancement in hygiene, and the physical preparedness of her soldiery, are presumably due in considerable measure to health insurance."

This organization is still leading the movement, and now claims the support—for the principle, at least—of members of the United States Public Health Service, particularly the Surgeon General, Dr. Rupert Blue; the American Academy of Medicine; the State medical societies of New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin; The Industrial Relations Committee; several local and international labor unions; the State labor federations of Massachusetts, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin, and many individual labor leaders and employers. There have been some retractions, however, and among labor leaders a sharp difference of opinion is emphasized by the bitter opposition of the American Federation of Labor. Socialists, and some other radicals, point to the influence of health insurance in the growth of the Socialist and trade-union movements in Europe, seeing in its application here a means of quickening the collective spirit among the wage-earners, of whom little more than 10 per cent. are as yet organized.

EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEES, AND THE STATE JOINTLY RESPONSIBLE

Practically all of the proposed legislation is framed in accordance with a general standard which provides for joint support

of the insurance funds by employers, employees, and the State, the inclusion so far as practicable of all workers earning \$100 a month or less, with a supplementary voluntary fund for certain others, joint management of the fund by employer and employee under State supervision, the payment of sickness benefits for a maximum period of twenty-six weeks in a year, maternity and funeral benefits, and provision of medical attendance, nursing, hospital care, and supplies up to a certain amount. Elaborate provisions are made for freedom of choice of physician by the insured, fixing of premium rates, settlement of administrative disputes, and so forth.

COMPULSION PROPOSED IN CALIFORNIA

The accepted standards have been followed closely in the recommendations of the California commission, which reported unanimously to the legislature:

In order to meet the problems of destitution due to sickness, and in order to make health insurance a valuable adjunct to the broad movement for the conservation of public health, any legislation on this subject should, in the opinion of the commission, provide (a) for a compulsory system for the conducting of the insurance by non-profit making insurance carriers; (b) for a thoroughly adequate provision for the care and treatment of the sick, and (c) for contributions from the insured, from industry and from the State.

The California commission thinks the compulsory feature is necessary to protect the improvident and such others as might not insure voluntarily.

ADVOCATED IN MASSACHUSETTS

The Massachusetts commission, appointed by Governor McCall, whose inaugural address urged the legislature to enact compulsory health insurance, unanimously approved the principle, but divided on methods of application, some holding that the cost should be borne entirely by the employers, others desiring to place the whole burden on the State. The major report, signed by four of the nine members, agrees, however, with the conclusions reached independently by the California commission. It recommends the compulsory form, supported two-fifths by the employer, two-fifths by the worker, and one-fifth by the State, with private stock insurance companies operating for profit excluded from the field.

The statistics on poverty, wages, sickness, and existing insurance agencies, and the in-

formation relating to European practise from which these commissions necessarily made their studies is challenged by opponents of compulsory health insurance as inadequate and misleading. Since the Massachusetts report was delivered the National Civic Federation and the spokesmen for the American Federation of Labor have entered a plea for a scientific investigation of the whole subject by a national commission of experts before any legislation is enacted. A bill providing for a federal commission, but to study unemployment as well as sickness insurance, already has been introduced in Congress by Meyer London, the Socialist Representative from New York.

OBJECTIONS URGED BY THE NATIONAL CIVIC FEDERATION

Typical of the legislation which is being considered throughout the country is a bill that has been introduced in the New York Legislature by Senator Ogden Mills. This measure has been riddled with objections in a memorandum prepared for the use of the legislators by the National Civic Federation. The assertion is made that the scheme would develop class distinction by stigmatizing earners of \$100 a month or less as subjects for State help; that the industrious and temperate would be grouped with the incompetent and dissolute, that certain classes of workers would be unfairly excluded, that temporary unemployment might cause a man to lose his contribution to the insurance fund, that the cost to the State would be millions in excess of the proposed appropriation, that the administrative machinery would be complicated and infeasible, that disease prevention is made a secondary consideration, and that there are numerous other serious defects in the measure.

The Civic Federation, which comprises representative employers, wage-earners, and disinterested citizens, sent a committee of experts to study health insurance in Great Britain; and the preliminary report was adverse. Its social insurance department, headed by Warren S. Stone, chief of the Brotherhood of Railway Locomotive Engineers, has now issued a resolution denouncing as false the statement that the social progress of Germany and other European countries where health insurance obtains has been greater than that of the United States and asserting on the contrary that much greater progress has been made here during the last quarter-century.

Proof of the superior condition of American wage-earners is deduced from the fact that our general death rate is the lowest on record, that during the last twenty years there has been a reduction of 40 per cent. in the death rate of New York City, as against 28 per cent. in Berlin, and 44 per cent. in the pulmonary tuberculosis death rate in New York, as against 37 per cent. in Berlin. In view of the obvious relation of the general death rate to the condition of the population, says the resolution, compulsory health insurance therefore is unnecessary in the United States; it would impose a needless economic burden upon employers, workers, and the State; it would also bring about undesirable enlargement of the police powers of the State, and would operate to the disadvantage of preventive medical and sanitary practise. Moreover, it is believed that existing voluntary agencies are capable of meeting the gradually increasing demand for protection, but under the proposed legislation they would be wiped out.

HEALTH INSURANCE NO PANACEA

"Paternalistic," "undemocratic," and "un-American" are characterizations applied to compulsory health insurance by Samuel Gompers, Hugh Frayne, Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company; A. Parker Nevin, general counsel of the National Manufacturers' Association, and other leading opponents of it. Mr. Gompers fears abatement of the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, and better conditions; and he foresees the development of a huge bureaucracy, perpetuation of class feeling, and weakening of moral and political independence of the workers. He is obviously correct when he says that social insurance does not present a fundamental remedy for poverty, but only provides a means of tiding over emergencies. For that matter, its proponents admit it is no panacea. The question is, would it afford actual relief without checking the gradual progress of the people toward complete economic and political freedom, which is, of course, the ultimate goal of democracy. Its advocates say, yes, and point to Europe for evidence of the benefits it would confer. Its opponents say, no; that European conditions under health insurance are worse than ours without it.

Possibly a national commission of investigation, properly constituted and given ample time and means, could resolve the doubts of both sides.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE NEW RUSSIA

NINE years ago Herman Bernstein asked Professor Paul Milyukoff this question: "Do you regard fresh outbreaks in Russia as improbable in the near future?"

This was the answer given at that time by the man who, as leader of the Constitutional Democratic party in the Duma, has been the central figure of the events of the past month in Petrograd:

"With this government it is impossible to say whether violent outbreaks will occur soon or not. This government always misses its opportunities. It is never in time. It makes half concessions when it is too late. But whatever political course the events may take, Russia will henceforth remain democratic in its social makeup. The old government is now undergoing a process of dissolution."

At about the same time Mr. Bernstein asked the same question in the course of an interview with the late Premier Witte, and received the following reply:

"Russia is great and powerful, notwithstanding her weaknesses, and I think she will become greater than she ever was. A country that is recovering from such a horrible, disgraceful, stupid, criminal war as the Russo-Japanese war is a country with a future. There will be outbreaks from time to time. At times the waves of discontent will rise mountain high and then will sink again. For some time to come there will be a periodic rising and falling of the waves. But that indicates life. A smooth surface would be a sign of death. I cannot say definitely when the new bright era will dawn in Russia. Nor can I say that it will be during my lifetime. Perhaps in fifteen years. Perhaps in five years. Perhaps even still sooner."

Referring to these predictions, in an article which he contributes to the *New York Sun* for March 18, Mr. Bernstein reminds us that during the intervening nine years the Russian Government, having curbed the liberal and revolutionary forces for the time being, caused the executions of many persons for crimes which in civilized countries are punishable by imprisonment for short terms, while the prisons were overcrowded and tens

of thousands of innocent people were exiled without trial.

When the war broke out Russia was unprepared, although some of the officials said otherwise, but the eyes of the people were opened by military reverses to the incompetency, indifference, and corruption in official circles. Before the war the liberal and radical elements in the country had always been ready to embarrass the government in every way possible, but after hostilities began they became unified and made every effort to save the nation.

It is now known that their sacrifices were largely nullified by the machinations of the reactionary forces, which secretly negotiated for a separate peace with Germany. It was only after the order had been issued to dissolve the Duma that the Liberals decided to act quickly and drastically. In the revolution of March the real leaders of the Russian people finally triumphed:

The struggle between the two Russias, the Russia of the Czar and his reactionary supporters, and the Russia of the people, has culminated in a triumph not only for the democracy of Russia, but for the whole world.

Until now there were two Russias, two entirely different Russias, with different hopes, aspirations, achievements and claims to the attention of the world. There was the Russia that made treaties with other nations, that sent diplomats abroad and received diplomats at home, that employed the army to crush the people, that built prisons instead of schools, that banished the best sons and daughters of Russia to Siberia, and that incited, organized, and participated in massacres of Jews and other oppressed nationalities within the Russian Empire.

That Russia has now been overturned by the other Russia, which gave to the world Tolstoy, Turgenev, Metchnikov, Antogolsky, Rubinstein, Tchaikowsky, Solovyov, and countless other great liberals such as Milyukov, Petrunkevitch, Vinaver, Roditzchev, which produced martyrs, which wanted schools instead of prisons, which fought for liberty, for the opportunity of development and independence, which sent real ambassadors to the other nations through the literature, the art and the spirit of liberty created within the Russian people.

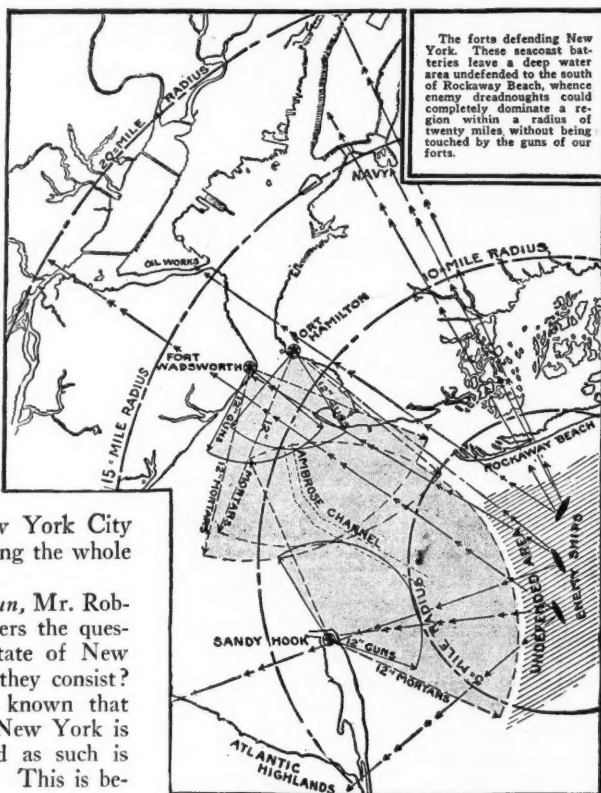
THE DEFENSE OF NEW YORK

THE strength of New York City's defenses is a matter of the keenest interest to the whole country, not merely because New York is the nation's commercial metropolis, but also because it is virtually the key to the national storehouse of defensive materials. Within a radius of about two hundred miles lie great coal deposits, corresponding with those in Eastern France taken by Germany at the beginning of the war, and groups of steel plants, gun factories, powder mills, oil works, and many other elements of defensive strength. An enemy that could take and hold New York City could dominate for the time being the whole country.

A writer in the *New York Sun*, Mr. Robert G. Skerrett, asks and answers the questions: What is the present state of New York's defenses? In what do they consist?

Perhaps it is not generally known that according to international law New York is technically a fortified city, and as such is properly open to bombardment. This is because the military authorities have placed at strategic points along the shore approaches great rifles and batteries of hidden mortars which have a range over wide areas of near and distant waters. When these guns and batteries were first placed in position it was planned that they would hold the enemy so far off that none of his projectiles could fall within the city's limits. This calculation, however, has been wholly upset by the great increase in the range of battleship fire. The only thing that would now prevent a bombardment from the shore would be the intervention of our own fleet.

This leads Mr. Skerrett to consider the practical question whether our navy could intercept a determined enemy and prevent him from getting within striking distance of New York. On the Atlantic coast to-day we have thirteen dreadnoughts, one pre-dreadnought, and two armored cruisers. Then there are battleships and armored cruisers constituting the reserve force of the Atlantic Fleet, numbering in all nineteen ships.



Among these ships, however, many are out-of-date and incapable of doing more than constituting a second line of defense and at the present time there are not enough men available to man them. Mr. Skerrett thinks it is doubtful whether more than a third of this reserve force would be able to render a good account of itself in an engagement with swift battlecraft of the up-to-date sort.

We have with the active fleet fifty destroyers in the Atlantic, and none in reserve to make up for losses or break-downs. Thus, in case of hostilities, our battle fleet would be hampered in maintaining an effective screen, or in dealing promptly and vigorously with enemy submarines. As to the latter class of vessels our force on the Atlantic seaboard is composed of twenty-three craft, six of which are stationed in the Canal Zone; three others are assigned to experimental work and are not considered effective military units. This leaves immediately available but fourteen submarines for the

defense of the Atlantic seaboard, with a total stretch of 2435 nautical miles. It is said that Germany has one submarine for every two miles of her North Sea coast, and so has been able to safeguard her shores against Great Britain's vastly superior sea strength.

Suppose now that a European power at war with the United States should decide to risk sending an army of invasion 100,000 strong. Such a situation has, in fact, been dealt with by the Navy Department as one of its "problems." Assuming the enemy's fleet to be somewhat stronger than our own, it was found that their battle-cruisers would have no difficulty in reducing our scouting line by more than one-half in the first attack, because the enemy's battle-cruisers had more speed than any of our cruisers, and also had very much more powerful batteries. Having driven our scouts in on our main body, the enemy knew exactly where our heavy ships were located and was able to land his troops from the transport ships. This outcome of a problem in naval strategy was reported about a year ago to some inquiring Congressmen by Rear-Admiral Sims. It would seem that our navy's lack of proper scouting craft makes it possible for a powerful foe to elude our main battle fleet, while luring it away from the point chosen for the landing of an invading army. If, then, New York should be the enemy's objective what may be counted on as a means of defense?

As already explained, an enemy's fleet does not have to be exposed to the sweep of

our 12-inch rifles and mortars mounted at Sandy Hook or Forts Wadsworth and Hamilton at the Narrows, but by taking station in the deep water south of Rockaway Beach it might destroy the Brooklyn Navy Yard, the oil works at Bayonne, or bombard a large section of the city without fear of injury from any of our sea-coast batteries.

It would take too long to build and mount the 14-inch and 16-inch guns now required to hold off an enemy from New York Bay, but several smaller pieces have been placed at Rockaway Beach.

The eastern approach to Long Island Sound remains to be considered. There, too, it has been the intention to place 16-inch guns in a heavily armored turret, but the plans are not yet finished. A hostile army could be landed inside of Montauk Point and from there the Long Island Railroad would furnish a comparatively easy path of approach to the city, which might soon be brought under the fire of siege guns. In that event the only chance to block the enemy would be to meet him as far from the city as possible, and to interpose an equal if not larger force. It would be necessary to cover a front extending from the north shore of the island to the Atlantic side. As to transport service, it has been estimated that there are available in Greater New York enough automobiles and auto trucks to move 150,000 fighting men in a short time. This kind of transport might be greatly needed in checking an enemy's advance on Long Island.

SHALL THE COURSE AT WEST POINT BE CHANGED?

PERHAPS no officer of the army is better qualified by experience and observation to estimate the value of the training given to American army officers than Major-General J. P. Sanger, retired, who has served for many years on inspection duty and has had opportunities to observe the armies of foreign countries.

In the *Journal of the Military Service Institution* for January-February, General Sanger addresses himself to the question, "Shall the Curriculum of the West Point Military Academy Be Changed as a Necessary Preparation for War?" In an introductory statement which summarizes the history of West Point, General Sanger

shows that when the academy was first opened there was ample reason for giving special instruction in mathematics and the other sciences, as the schools and colleges of that period (the early decades of the 19th century) were few and the instruction given in them was chiefly limited to Latin, Greek, and the other subjects of what was called a classical education. Young men entering the army could not be prepared in these schools to take up the study of civil and military engineering and the science of artillery. The academies and grammar schools of that time were the feeders of the literary colleges and their instruction was naturally based on college requirements, chiefly Latin



Photograph by American Press Association

THE UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT

and Greek. These facts doubtless account for the establishment and maintenance of the so-called academic department at West Point. Whatever may have been its justification in the beginning, the educational situation throughout the country has wholly changed during the 115 years that have elapsed since the academy's doors were opened for the education of American army officers. If an academic department is to be kept up as a part of the West Point system of training some other reasons must be sought.

Turning to the records of the academy, General Sanger finds that for many years the institution has furnished less than one-third of our regular army officers. The academy has not, as a rule, been able to fill existing vacancies in the army register, and there has been a marked disparity between the number of candidates appointed, the number admitted, and the number of cadets graduated. For this situation two causes have been assigned—the method of appointing candidates and the failures in the academic department. General Sanger proposes that the system of appointment be changed so that the academy shall be open to all young men who wish to adopt the military profession and can satisfy the prescribed examination, and have no ulterior object in entering the academy. Under this plan the candidates would be apportioned to States and Territories according to the male population. The annual entrance examinations would be competitive, the candidates ranking highest in order of merit filling the vacancies. The appointments would no longer be made on the recommendations of Senators, Representatives, or other officials of the Government.

It appears that of the 3816 candidates admitted who did not graduate during the years 1838-1915, about 3000 failed in the academic department, and about 600 more were turned back. The records show but few failures in the department of tactics, in which the cadets receive nearly all their military training. It is charged by General Sanger that the academic department has always been autocratic and inflexible in its demands on cadets, rejecting those who fail in the academic course, no matter how proficient they may be in the department of tactics.

Inasmuch as the courses now offered by our universities, colleges, and technical schools seem ample to provide the general education needed by army officers, General Sanger would change West Point's curriculum by abolishing as much of the academic course as pertains to the exact sciences, languages, history, English, etc., transferring the Department of Civil and Military Engineering to the Engineers School at Washington, and the Department of Ordnance and Gunnery to the Coast Artillery School at Fort Monroe. The course of instruction at West Point would then embrace the Department of Tactics, the Department of Field Fortifications in the Art of War, the Department of Law, the Department of Hygiene, and the Department of Military Engineering, Signaling, and Telegraphy.

These changes would reduce the four-year course at the academy to two years, thus doubling the number of graduates (making it sufficient for an army of 300,000) without adding another cadet to the number now authorized or increasing the cost of maintenance.

POLISH INDEPENDENCE BY THE GRACE OF THE TEUTONS

THAT the war may be prolonged not only through incapacity in the war offices of the Allies, but also through the stupidity of their governments,—is evident from an article written for the Polish *Dziennik Związkowy* (Alliance Daily) of Chicago by the well-known Polish philosopher, Professor Vincent Lutoslawski, who is living at present in Switzerland.

This writer says that the German-Austrian proclamation of November 5, 1916, establishing the Kingdom of Poland out of the part of Poland the Teutons have seized from Russia in the present war, is in fact very joyous news for the Poles, though they cannot take it seriously; for it proves above all the weakness of the Germans, who are masking this weakness very awkwardly by simulating magnanimity towards the Poles, whereas if they felt themselves to be strong, they would not give the Poles even so clipped and vague an independence. But this German-Austrian proclamation is also a plain indication for the Western Allies that they cannot offer the Poles less than the foes of civilization grant them. This, however, the Allies have hitherto not understood; in common with the Russians, they revive the obsolete and broken promises of Grand Duke Nicholas of more than two years ago; while even if those promises had not been openly violated by Count Bobrinski in Galicia, they are to-day entirely obsolete and have no value.

The Germans, says Professor Lutoslawski, have given recognition to this Polish claim that Poland ought to be an independent state. It is true that this was granted in the form of a promise possibly intended merely as a means for recruiting an army in Poland, but, having gone so far, the Germans will have to create at least the semblance of an independent state before they can gain their military aim. Yet this writer points out that a Polish army under a Polish government would be a menace to the Germans, for such an army might turn against them if the Entente Allies should grant Poland, in place of the counterfeit German independence, a true independence consistent with Polish tradition.

There are three elements of deceit, according to Professor Lutoslawski, in the German overtures to Poland: (1) Poland is proclaimed independent, while it is assumed that the Provinces of Posen and East and West



THE LIBERTY OF POLAND

KAISER: "Behold, you are free!!! The only condition is that you must die for me!!!"

From *Compana de Gracia* (Barcelona)

Prussia do not belong to Poland; (2) the independence that would be enjoyed under German overlordship would not be true independence from a Polish viewpoint, since the Germans themselves do not have such independence; (3) the boundaries of the proposed Polish state are not defined.

While this writer concludes that the Germans will be bitterly disappointed in their hope of recruiting soldiers in a visionary state having neither definite boundaries, a rational unity, nor an independent government, he insists that the Allies also will be disappointed if they think that after this German proclamation they can entice the Poles by the hope of union without independence.

More important than independence is unity; but if the German grants independence, the Frenchman and the Englishman cannot remain behind him. It was possible to wage war with the flaunt of Polish union while there was no project of Polish independence, but the slogan of independence, once thrown, will not let itself be recalled. From this it issues that the Allies, if they do not wish to alienate the Poles from them, should likewise grant them independence—but without the German deceptions. Therefore, first

of all, the independence of entire Poland—the same that was abolished by the partitions. Secondly, a real independence—a Poland without the tutelage of the Germans or of anyone else, and with her own army and her own government. In the third place, this independence should be guaranteed not by the Germans, doomed to impotence and ruin, but by the victorious Western Allies. Finally, the boundaries of the Polish State ought once for all to be marked—at least such as they were in the time of the partitions, with the addition of East Prussia and Silesia, taken from us in days of old.

Such an independent Poland would constitute protection for weaker neighbors like the Bohemians, Rumanians, Letts, Esths, Finns, and even the Serbs.

For the very reason that even the phantom of the counterfeit independence resembles the greatly longed-for reality, it is not worth while for us

to protest against these German proclamations, but we should demand that the slogan of the independence of Poland enunciated in those proclamations should be recognized universally. Let us lay stress on this, that even the Germans have recognized our right to independence, and let us unanimously demand that that right shall be satisfied.

In conclusion this writer asserts that the Poles will not give Germany soldiers until they have a national government. When once that condition is fulfilled the Poles may accept from Germany material aid in the organization of a national army, but with reservation of their right as to the disposal of that army. "When this army shall be ready for battle, then only will it be decided against which foe it may be used most effectively."

SCANDINAVIAN VIEWS OF THE WAR

PROFESSOR RUDOLPH KJELLÉN, of the University of Upsala, has just published two books upon the war which are attracting attention abroad. These works, "The Great Powers of the Present Time" and "Political Problems of the World War," represent an attempt to study the origins of the war from the philosophical and objective point of view befitting a scholar and a neutral.

Mr. Kjellén compares the European crisis of affairs to "a geologic cataclysm," and in seeking to elucidate its remoter and profounder causes he says:

The problem is extended and complex; it comprises, indeed, several problems intricately united: the geo-historic problem; the national problem, often mingled with that of race; the social-political problem, which consists in determining to what extent the internal policy of a country has been able to influence its external policy; and the economic problem—without doubt the most imperious and that which apparently dominates them all.

In developing his ingenious theories the learned professor gives a bird's-eye view of contemporaneous history, his only fault being, according to the Swiss magazine *La Bibliothèque Universelle* (Lausanne) from which we quote, too complaisant an acceptance of the theses of the majority of German publicists:

A great admirer of German power, he affirms that the political and social institutions of the empire are the most liberal and most democratic in

the world; that, in contradiction to that which her enemies affirm, it is Germany who, in the present struggle, represents the true ideas of progress, of high culture, and of liberty; that it is upon her, in short, because of her political and social structure, her economic and intellectual position, that the political task of the future devolves—that of knowing how "to realize in the development of humanity the synthesis of the ideas of the State and of the Will of the People."

The same article expresses surprise at the attitude of another Scandinavian writer, the well-known Danish critic, Georg Brandes:

Apropos of his polemics with Georges Clemenceau, he has developed Nietzsche's paradox of "the morality of the necessary safety," supplemented by considerations à la Bernhardt. He, too, refuses to admit that in this "collective madness" the wrong can be all on one side, and thus writes to the director of *L'Homme Enchaîné* (Clemenceau's journal):

"It scarcely astonishes me that there should be people stupid enough to accept without examination the worst libels [*bourdes*]; but that you, of a critical mind, a free, clear brain which has always fought the good fight against stupidity, you who plume yourself on having contempt for men, should now join the chorus of madmen—this passes my understanding." And, uniting at this point with his learned confrère of Upsala, Brandes concludes: "Whether you will or no, this war, like nearly all the great wars, is an economic war. Naturally none of the belligerents will acknowledge this. It is more convenient to mask the appetites under the beautiful name of liberty. Is not each of them fighting for liberty?"

"Russia, the classic land of despotism, is fighting for liberty, just as Germany, the land of corporatism and of the election of country squires, is doing; just like England, who has never had any object except to preserve her industrial su-

periority in the world; just like France also, who of late years has considerably increased her colonial empire.

"The truth is that each of these powers is fighting for economic supremacy. And see what happens: Each claims to be the champion of a superior civilization and makes use of the same arguments. What has been left unwritten regarding the atrocities committed by each people? Do you believe in these atrocities? As for me I do not believe a single word, or rather I believe them all! Man unchained is a beast so strange that he is capable of anything.

"I believe that when one takes arms in hand he thinks of nothing but to destroy, to burn, to

assassinate. How can mankind support war? After each human butchery the peoples console themselves by saying that this butchery will be the last. They said after the war of 1870: This will be the last war in Europe. What stupidity it all is! No war is the last war. War is eternal, for the stupidity of men is eternal."

Thus vaticinates Georg Brandes, the amiable skeptic suddenly become a disciple of Moltke, or rather, of Joseph de Maistre. For, as we listen to him do we not hear the voice of the sombre prophet of the *soirées de Saint-Petersbourg* crying out: "The Earth is an altar which must be eternally drenched with blood. War is divine; it must reign eternally to purge the world!"

A LATIN COALITION IN EUROPE

THE favorable results secured by the thoroughly harmonious common action of the Teutonic Empires, has strengthened the wish for a permanent alliance, partaking of the nature of a confederacy, among the various Latin peoples. This theme is treated in its main outline by Signor B. Amanti in *Rivista d'Italia*.

After noting the unfortunate suspicions and differences that for a long time interfered with any good understanding between the two leading Latin nations, France and Italy, the writer sees in the present common effort of five of the six peoples of this race a happy augury of a lasting bond of union, which should include Spain, the only nation of the race that has held aloof from the war.

However, while hoping for a permanent and cordial coöperation of the Latin nations, Signor Amanti is obliged to confess that past experiences warn us not to be over-confident. He fears that when the present danger shall have passed away, national differences of temperament will in time again assert themselves, causing the former comradeship in adversity to be forgotten, and weakening belief in the fundamental principles on which the confederacy must rest.

Regarding the fluctuant state of public opinion in France and Italy just before the war's outbreak, he cites a proposition made in Paris to found a society for the promotion of a better understanding between France and Germany, and also the fact that about the same time the Italian Minister of Public Instruction sent out circulars directing the professors to deliver earnest lectures on peace.

Moreover, the example of peace-loving Germany was held up on all sides as an argument for the reduction of military appro-

priations, and it was even seriously urged that a Nobel Peace Prize should be awarded to Emperor William for his successful efforts in behalf of the maintenance of peace among the European nations.

A real and effective union cannot be at once improvised in the hour of peril, and the events of the war have only too well corroborated the views expressed by Princess Alice Borghese in her book, "Unpetit Belge," when she writes:

The alliances between several isolated nations, their successive and tardy intervention, only aggravate and extend the evil. If in the present war, at the outset, all the Powers not involved in it had unanimously cast the weight of their swords in one of the balances, there would never have been any need to unsheathe them.

The timeliness of the coalition he favors, and the benefits, both immediate and prospective, that would flow from it, are thus stated by Signor Amanti:

The realization of a stable union of the Latin nations, which in time of peace would require years of study and negotiation, and which in fact would never be realized, just as it was not realized in times past, might now, however, when five of the six Latin peoples are associated in a war against a common foe, be quickly given form during the present winter. In this case we would be able next spring to oppose to the Germans, not simply the forces of merely allied nations, but the forces of a powerful and organic coalition.

A chief advantage of this would be our ability to imitate the tactics of our enemy, whose successes are due to the rapid shifting of troops from one to another of our fronts, a method we have not been able to employ, because of certain susceptibilities which the Paris Conference was unsuccessful in quieting.

The unified plan of the Latin combatants, vainly proposed and urged, would be the logical and necessary consequence of the confederation.

It would also constitute the unique obstacle against a future war, and would be a prime factor in time of peace for the maintenance of our equilibrium in face of the other races.

The Teutonic group is already highly organized, while the Latin group is essentially disorganized. As, however, Pan-Germanism seems only to be attainable by the absorption of the other nations, Signor Amanti

regrets the term Pan-Latinism and prefers Mono-Latinism, as a more exact expression, one indicating the limits set to the aspirations of the Latin peoples. A confederacy of these peoples in perpetual alliance with England would constitute, even topographically, a grand unity of the lands bathed by the waters of the Mediterranean, which is essentially an Anglo-Latin sea.

HAPSBURG AND HOHENZOLLERN

AN elaborate article on Francis Joseph of Austria, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by René Pinon, closes with a noteworthy analysis of the way in which the late Emperor-King drifted into the policy, toward Prussia on the one hand, and the Slav and Balkan peoples on the other, which had so large a share in shaping the events out of which the present war has arisen.

The Emperor realized—the writer observes—after the Conference of Olmütz (1850), that there was a duel for supremacy between Berlin and Vienna. Prussia had the advantage of a strong national unity, while a number of Francis Joseph's own dominions were opposed to an increase of Austria's power in Germany; they realized that their liberal aspirations had a better chance while rivalry between Prussia and Austria was maintained; should Austria even suffer defeat, she would be obliged to make concessions, while victory would signify a return to absolutism.

After Sadowa the status of Austria and her allies was far from desperate; but Francis Joseph acknowledged himself vanquished and entered into negotiations. Austria was excluded from German affairs; the German Confederation was constituted without her.

It was the collapse of all the great imperial dreams, the end of the traditional policy, which had since the thirteenth century given the House of Hapsburg the ascendancy in Germany. Francis Joseph could not resign himself to such a fall; he proposed to resume the fight against Prussia by granting concessions within his realm. That is the origin and explanation of the dual system, inaugurated by the "compromise" of 1867.

It was the critical moment of his reign. One may justly say to-day that that compromise and that system constituted the misfortune of Francis Joseph and his monarchy.

His intention was creditable—to consolidate the forces of the realm and undertake with the utmost energy the great fight for the supremacy of Central Europe. The monarchy might have been reorganized on a federal basis, have satisfied the aspirations of its various nationalities—not alone those of the Magyars. She could thus have become the arbiter of Europe. That is what Prussia dreaded above all; and whenever Francis Joseph seemed on the point of a *rapprochement* with the Slavs Bismarck intervened. The Emperor failed to realize that in treating one-third of his subjects, the Slavs, as pariahs, and depending upon the Magyars alone, he was putting himself at the latter's mercy—and the Hungarians were never interested in having Austria regain ascendancy in Germany. It was a Hungarian, Andrassy, who brought about the Triple Alliance and led Austria to Bosnia-Herzegovina; and a Hungarian, Tisza, who, in accord with Germany, incited the present conflict. In delivering himself over to the discretion of the Hungarians in 1867, Francis Joseph deprived himself of treasures of loyalty which he would have found among all the peoples of his Empire.

That was the capital error of Francis Joseph; it led him in the closing part of his reign to follow a policy probably contrary to his sentiments and intentions. At any rate, in the four years—decisive for the history of Europe up to 1914—from Sadowa to Sedan, his political bent, according with his real feelings, was clearly hostile to Prussia. At court and among the nobility the hatred of Prussia was intense, while the French were most hospitably received in Vienna. The Emperor's desire for revenge was so keen that he entered into negotiations with Victor Emmanuel in 1869, allowing it to appear that the Trentino might be the recompense for his joining a coalition

against Prussia; while published documents reveal that Francis Joseph wished for the victory of French arms in 1870.

The sharpest blow that could strike the Austrian monarch was the proclaiming of William of Hohenzollern Emperor of Germany—it was the ruin of all his hopes and of his policy in Germany. The idea of an alliance between the vanquished of Sedan and of Sadowa was so natural a one that it formed Bismarck's chief dread. He labored with all his might, therefore, against a union which seemed to him to threaten German hegemony, and sought to retard the establishment of a strong and stable government in France.

Francis Joseph, uncertain of the future, refrained from contesting Germany's victories. The two Emperors met at Gastein in 1871, and there was laid the foundation of the Triple Alliance and of the Eastern policy of Austria. Gradually the Bismarck ideas begin to prevail in the Dual Monarchy; under Andrassy's lead its policy is directed to the Balkans. The Magyars hoped thereby to increase their influence, and Bismarck, aiming to fortify the new Germany by an Austrian policy which descends the Danube towards the Balkans instead of ascending towards Munich, favored the Hungarians.

In order to induce Francis Joseph to pursue that policy, his advisers used the argument most likely to impress him: He had evidently given up Italy; events had ousted him from Germany; if he was intent upon leaving an undiminished Empire to his successors he must turn to the Balkans—Bosnia and Herzegovina were only waiting to welcome a deliverer from the Turkish yoke. It is thus that Francis Joseph interpreted Andrassy's policy, thus that he justified his occupation of those countries in 1877. But from that time he was obsessed by the idea of annexing those two Balkan states.

The Triple Alliance was the conclusion of the Eastern crisis of 1877-78; it organized Europe according to Prussia's desires. Francis Joseph had swallowed the bait: he put his hand into the Balkan gear without perceiving that he has thereby placed himself at Germany's discretion; without comprehending that for Austria expansion in the South meant danger in the North. The present war is a resultant development of that situation.

In order to maintain and raise the position of his house, Francis Joseph renounced a rôle less dangerous for himself and his

neighbors. An Austria strong enough to command respect, pursuing a policy of national justice, would have followed the gradual evolution which was bearing her toward a more democratic régime.

It is easy to imagine, after the foregoing, Francis Joseph's sentiments regarding Serbia. He was poorly informed about the country and its people; the Serbians having no aristocracy, he probably never had occasion to meet any of them. He never imagined that he should find among them any obstacle to his wishes or the expansion of his realm. When his troops occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina he was surprised at the resistance encountered by his generals.

Under Francis Joseph's reign the Slavs were always treated as outcasts. Exposed to every sort of humiliation, the Serbians, a valiant, energetic people, finally rebelled. In 1906 a radical cabinet dared for the first time openly resist the arbitrary Austrian attitude. In Vienna it aroused great anger and astonishment. There followed the crisis of the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908; Serbia, boldly invoking the right of nations, based upon her kinship with the Serbs of Bosnia, raised her voice, and that voice found an echo. Events transcended the conceptions of the Emperor; but he felt a violent irritation against the Serbians, a passionate desire to subdue that audacious little nation. In 1912 Austria counted upon an easy victory of Turkey over Serbia; just the contrary occurred, however. In 1913 came another surprise—the Serbians overcame the Bulgarians, launched against them by Austria.

Now, while only the question of oppressing isolated Slav peoples, like the Czechs, was involved, Francis Joseph pursued a policy of *laissez faire*; but if at the gates of the Empire an independent Slav state, capable some day of delivering its brethren from Hapsburg bondage, was to increase in power, the outrage and peril were intolerable. In 1905 there was developed in Croatia the Serbo-Croat Coalition, Serbian influence predominating. This, along with other symptoms, was presented to the aging monarch as the prelude to a vast movement of revolt against his authority, as a menace to the integrity of his dominions, the preservation of which had become the aim of his life, a law of his policy. He resolved to crush Serbia. The assassination at Sarajevo was the occasion which, adroitly used by his advisers, precipitated a determination already fixed.

KANT AND WILSON, ON "PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY"

CESAR CHABRUN, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, analyzes with much acumen President Wilson's note to the belligerents, asking them to state their "views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded," and his subsequent address to the Senate, treating of a lasting peace for the world. The writer maintains that Mr. Wilson has been profoundly influenced by the great German philosopher, Kant, and traces many of his views to that source. He cites numerous passages from Kant's "Permanent Peace" in support of his contention.

The President's note to the neutral nations announcing the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany—M. Chabrun says—was warmly acclaimed by the Entente nations, and thrust into the background the two above-mentioned pronouncements, which had just before aroused passionate criticism. But it must not be forgotten, the writer adds, that Mr. Wilson invokes the principles of his address in the note proclaiming the rupture.

Speaking of the note to the belligerents, M. Chabrun remarks that nobody seemed to know just what he meant. However, the Central Powers sent their vague reply; the Entente announced their aims with all desirable precision, and in a friendly way expressed their astonishment at the President's failure to discriminate between the just and the unjust in the European war. Then followed the address to the Senate—with new surprises: no judgment as to the aims of the war which had been submitted to him, at his own request; no answer to the Entente as to which side he espoused. On the other hand, he enumerated the conditions, indispensable according to him, requisite to secure a lasting peace. M. Chabrun proceeds:

Confronted with this document, the European press was agitated anew. But, as in case of the note, everyone gradually returned to his first impression. The Entente nations, notably—though absolutely opposed to certain doctrines, that of peace without victory, for example—quickly recognized the close relation of some of their most cherished ideas to certain of those espoused by Mr. Wilson; others, it is true, struck them as obscure, to some they seemed contradictory; in short, the document did not offer a harmonious whole.

Yet we cannot suppose that Mr. Wilson's address was an arbitrary stringing together of ideas. That would be *à priori* improbable. He has too

well-trained a mind not to coördinate his thoughts in strict sequence; if his notes have been varying and hesitatingly interpreted, it is, perhaps, because they were not correctly comprehended.

One would think, in reading the controversial comment, that one thing alone signified: Were Mr. Wilson's notes favorable to the Entente or favorable to the Central Powers? In reality, that question does not present itself to the author of the notes. It is probable that, except as to the special point retained in his address, Mr. Wilson considered that the replies of the European states did not accord with the questions put by him, and he found it necessary to answer himself by proposing *in abstracto*, in order to attain peace, the system—for that is what it really is—which he deemed the best. As a sincere friend of humanity, he desired to spread throughout the world theories which he holds dear, which he considers true, and which he supposes universal enough to satisfy the common aspirations of the nations.

The two declarations of Mr. Wilson are only seemingly obscure. Everything grows clear and logical if one remembers that in his scientific career Mr. Wilson, who lectured on international law, must many a time have come into contact with Kant's theories upon permanent peace, and if one assumes that, having adopted them, he constructed them into a system of his own. It is through a knowledge of Kant, then, that Mr. Wilson's note and address must be interpreted.

The writer points out many parallels between Kant's doctrines regarding war and the President's utterances. Kant regarded war as contrary to reason, degrading to humanity. "Seek, above all," he proclaims, "the dominion of pure, practical reason and its justice, and your aim (the blessing of permanent peace) will be yours in addition."

Kant admits, it is true, that a violation of right committed in any part of the globe is felt throughout the world; but he does not draw the conclusion that it legitimizes war. He seems to go even beyond that and to deny that international injustice has any objective character. States are perfectly independent of one another; no superior is placed above them, no authority, therefore, which can decide as to who is just or unjust; still less can they be judges in their own case. The two concepts, justice and war, do not touch at any point. That does not mean, however, that the rights of a state cannot be violated by another state; but when a war breaks out, who can say which party has justice on its side? Two independent moral beings are in conflict; each may subjectively believe in the justice of his cause; there is no judge, therefore no law; whence the following maxim, which reminds us of the utterances of Mr. Wilson: "Neither of the two parties (belligerents) can be regarded as an unjust enemy (since that would imply a judicial sentence)." [Kant's "Permanent Peace."]

Does it not seem that this is the principle which

determined the transcendental neutrality of Mr. Wilson? He does not judge because there is nothing to judge and there is nothing to judge because there is no judge. That Mr. Wilson personally passes no personal judgment upon the belligerents must be doubted; but he cannot give a judicial form to that judgment; he does not hold the balance even between the belligerents, he simply has no balance to weigh them with.

The President says in his Senate address:

"The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not only a balance of power but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace."

It is necessary, therefore, to enlighten the belligerents. Mr. Wilson does not hesitate to do so with perfect frankness by stating—at the risk of shocking those who do not possess the key to his thoughts—that the first condition of an enduring peace is a peace without victory.

Kant's doctrine will enable us to understand what he means by that. The first preliminary article of his "Permanent Peace" lays down the principle that a peace to be lasting must be sincere. That article reads:

"No treaty of peace can be regarded as such if cause for a future war be secretly reserved.

"It would, in fact, be only a truce, a suspension of hostilities, and not a peace signifying the end of all hostility. To add the word permanent to the word peace is in itself a suspicious pleonasm."

Thus, says M. Chabrun, we seem to find an explanation for Mr. Wilson's "peace without victory," that is to say, a peace which leaves no wound after its conclusion, which

is not imposed upon a people, which is concluded with it not in order to finish the war but in order to begin a new and happy era of humanity.

The writer cites a number of other passages from Kant's "Permanent Peace," which are strikingly paralleled in Mr. Wilson's address to the Senate. In conclusion, he says:

It is vain for the Germans to protest that they admire the ideas of the address and concur in them; facts have already belied that pretension. The nations of the Entente, on the contrary, if they do not accept without reservation all of Mr. Wilson's theories, agree with the greater part of the principles which he advocates and, peace once concluded, he will not appeal to their spirit of concord and their love of liberty in vain.

Let us, then, content ourselves with declaring that Mr. Wilson is a complex of a statesman and a man of letters. The realm of thought is his domain as much as that of affairs. He has on this occasion invited us to a discussion in the field of pure ideas. We have not been able to follow him there. Immersed in the conflict, it would be impossible for us to treat of facts abstractly as readily as Mr. Wilson, but we ought to be grateful to him for having submitted to us, with all the sincerity of an honest man, the system of ideal peace which has won his preference.

The hour has sounded for Mr. Wilson to forsake pure theories and enter into touch with realities. In reply to the insolent declaration of the German blockade, he decided without hesitation upon the energetic measures which the national dignity demanded. Ought he to go further? Will events lead him to take the decisive steps, as he declares he is ready to do if the honor of the United States demands it? That is for the morrow to reveal. The generous ideas of Mr. Wilson the philosopher assign henceforth to Mr. Wilson the statesman a place in the party of right and justice.

HOLLAND'S VIEWS ON WILSON'S PEACE NOTE

ALTHOUGH events have moved with startling rapidity during the past few weeks, and the effects of President Wilson's note to the warring powers on the subject of peace have been superseded by more recent grave diplomatic announcements, it is of interest to study Holland's view of the situation, published a few days before the answer of the Entente powers rejecting peace overtures became known.

The *Vragen des Tijds* believes it to be perfectly clear that Wilson evidently wants us to understand that he would have issued his peace note, even had Germany not announced her readiness to join a peace discussion; but it is just as much a mystery why he should have been in such a

hurry to issue his note, instead of awaiting what the Entente powers had to say in reply to the German pronunciamiento. Was it because he knew in advance that this reply would be a refusal? But if so, what is there in his note to hinder the Entente, provided they were determined to reject the offer?

We gather from the wording of the Wilson note that his idea was: simultaneous arrangements for the peace preliminaries, and a simultaneous placing of all the cards, face up, on the table! Shall we imagine that it was necessary for Wilson to call attention of the Entente to this possibility?

We think that the Entente powers are fully aware of what Germany would do in order to have peace. And just as one could foresee from the various diplomatic notes published concerning the beginning of the war the shaping of the events leading to it, so one can see the birth of

peace in the high-sounding phraseology of the German offer, followed by Wilson's note and still to be followed by various other notes of one kind and another. Just as secret events led to the outbreak of the war, so there are secret workings to establish peace once more. Of this one can say: "The word has rooted"; the deeds are going on, through diplomats who have no official standing—men who, if it becomes necessary, can at all times be denied!

The ostentation with which Germany made the peace-proposal; the fanfares which she blew, might fool the world. Seemingly she is the strongest and can afford to be generous; but she must know that she is greatly inferior in numbers and resources, and this inferiority would persist if the war continues any longer. It is for this reason that she has made exceedingly moderate peace conditions—far too moderate to suit the Conservatives and National-Liberals. The Entente powers are therefore confronted with this problem: a peace, quickly concluded upon the conditions of-

ferred by Germany, which are better for the Entente than the present war-map would justify and better for Germany than she could have obtained for the past year or so . . . or to continue the war with the probability, according to all the weight of resources, of winning the war, and the certainty that any offers of peace brought before the victory would be undebatable now.

There is still another possibility—not for us, and not for the great mass of the citizens of the Entente powers, but for those who guide the lot of the great powers. They might be forced to attend a peace conference at which the conflicting aims and hopes of the Entente powers are put to the test, prepared to continue the war upon demand of the majority of the people, in order to silence opposition. And—there is still the possibility of those "unforeseen circumstances" which are apt to overthrow all human calculations.

We are not surprised that the answer of the Entente powers to the note of President Wilson is "delayed."

REDON, A PAINTER WHO DARED

THE French artist, Odilon Redon, who died in Paris a few months ago, was a painter without a school. In an article contributed to the *Mercure de France* (Paris), which appeared shortly after his death, Andre Fontainas says of him:

Such a man as Redon seems not to have known that there existed a tradition, an academic routine, an official consecration. While quite young he formed a lofty and ingenuous image of art; he employed his every effort throughout his entire life to realize this, unmoved by any foreign consideration whatever . . . His emotions came from dreams and visions, and his pictures rouse these in others.

Fontainas also observes acutely that without being in any sense the founder of a school, Redon has profoundly influenced many modern artists, acting as a stimulus to the development of their own power. He likens him in this respect to César Franck among musicians and Stephane Mallarmé among poets. It is this quality of suggestion and stimulus which is responsible doubtless for the increasing appreciation of Redon among artists. It was Huysmans, we believe, who compared him in a very beautiful figure to one of those stars of the first magnitude whose steady light does not reach the earth until ages have elapsed since it left its source.

Redon's work was first shown in America some four years ago at the International Exhibition held in New York. Early this year an exhibit of some of his lithographs was held in the Ardsley Studios in Brooklyn, and

shortly after this article appears the Print Department of the New York Public Library will place on view a remarkably fine collection, including some recent accessions of reproductions of most of his work with the exception of the flower pieces.

In the brochure which accompanied the exhibit at the Ardsley Studios, Mr. Hamilton Easter Field says:

Shortly after my arrival in Paris as an art student I stumbled upon a lithograph by Odilon Redon. It so impressed me that I began forming the collection of Redon's prints shown in this loan collection . . . When a few weeks back Walter Pach told me of Redon's death, one of the links which drew me more closely to France was broken . . . The loss to art is irreparable. Possibly no artist has ever more completely expressed the inmost emotions of a human soul. And such a soul! Odilon Redon had a nature so rich, so full, that his art should last as long as men are capable of understanding the impulse which brought it into being. Apart from this interest, which some might call literary, his lithographs are technical masterpieces of rare beauty.

This technical perfection is peculiarly marked in Redon's handling of his chosen medium of black and white. He makes its every tone from the velvet richness of the hollow in an old tree trunk to the airy shadows of young leaves express not only a varied and complex beauty but the most delicate and subtle *nuances* of feeling. His own words are significant:

One must respect black. Nothing prostitutes it. It does not please the eye and awake sensuality. It is the agent of the mind far more than the most beautiful colors of palette or of prism.

THE MEANING OF BRITAIN'S SEAPORTS

IN estimating the difficulties of Germany's project of blockading the British Isles, one must take into account the fact that it would be necessary for the blockading power to guard a deadline of 1,600 nautical miles, measured from headland to headland, twenty miles off shore. There are 119 ports, large and small, that must be sealed up, and eighty of these, even at low tide, are open to ships that can navigate fourteen feet of water. Furthermore, it is said that the British coast line has a greater number of bays and other navigable indentations than are to be found anywhere else in the world in the same length of straightaway shore lines. These facts are brought out in a survey of "One Hundred British seaports" in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington).

England is so deeply indented that no part is more than seventy-five miles from the sea, while the rambling coast line of Scotland is familiar to all students of geography. Ireland is not as deeply indented as England and Scotland, but her shores are extremely difficult to blockade.

In normal years an average of 214 ships arrive at ports of the United Kingdom from foreign waters every day in the year, while there are 780 arrivals from home ports of ships in the coastwise trade. The merchant-marine of Great Britain includes nearly 12,000 ships of all kinds, of which about 2800 are sailing ships, and 5300 steam vessels employed in the home trade. There are approximately 4000 ships engaged in sailing between British and foreign ports, and these have an average capacity of more than 2500 registered tons.

At the end of 1916 there were 465 steam vessels under construction in British shipyards, more than half of them being ships of more than 5000 tons burden. These new

ships would replace, both in tonnage and in number, those sunk by German submarines, up to the end of 1916.

Britain's dependence on the importation of foodstuffs would make her the most vulnerable of nations did she not possess the strongest navy in the world. It is estimated that 90 per cent. of the food consumed by



SKETCH MAP INDICATING BRITISH HARBORS

(The seas surrounding the islands are very shallow, making it easy to anchor mines to destroy shipping and also to moor nets to trap submarines. If the waters of Dover Strait were to subside 100 feet, an isthmus would connect England and Holland. If the waters subsided 300 feet, Ireland and the whole of the British Islands would once more be connected to Continental Europe)

her 45,000,000 people is brought in by ships engaged in foreign trade. As a compensation for this handicap, however, her vast deposits of coal and iron go far to relieve her from the dangers of blockade.

The port of London handles approximately one-third of all the exports and imports of the United Kingdom. The ships of the whole world visit it in normal times.

ARCTIC SEAPORTS OF EUROPEAN RUSSIA

A CONSULAR report by Mr. H. D. Baker, an abstract of which was published in the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS for December, 1915, described the remarkable development of the port of Archangel, due to conditions arising from the war. In the same report mention was made of the new railway then being pushed to an ice-free port on the Murman Peninsula, destined to replace Archangel as the gateway for Russia's foreign commerce during the season when the latter port is inaccessible. In June, 1916, the various plans for railroad and harbor development in Russia were summarized for this REVIEW by Mr. P. P. Foster.

The railway to Kola fiord is now complete. This fact, together with the recent double-tracking of the line to Archangel, not only permits further development of the Arctic trade-route, but also promises to revolution-

ize the economic conditions of northern European Russia. Two articles dealing with the situation have just appeared in French reviews; viz., one in *Le Correspondant* (Paris), by F. La Porte, and one in *La Nature* (Paris), by the well-known geographer, Charles Rabot.

From the former we learn that the congestion of the port of Archangel is in a fair way to be relieved by the construction of an important new port on the opposite shore of the River Dvina and a little farther upstream, known as Bakharitzza. The warehouses already erected at this place are capable of receiving half a million tons of merchandise. Meanwhile the port of Solombalskie, below Archangel, has rapidly expanded, and has been made the site of a new naval arsenal. Below Solombalskie yet another new port has been constructed. Thus at the mouth of the River Dvina, in the latitude

of Iceland and central Alaska, there has suddenly sprung up a group of thriving commercial towns, connected with the interior of Russia not only by river, but also by a double-track railway to Vologda (i.e., the old narrow-gauge line and a new standard-gauge line).

The river at Archangel is normally closed by ice from the middle of October until the end of May. By means of ice-breakers similar to those used on the Baltic and on the Great Lakes of America the period during which the Dvina ports are accessible is lengthened by about two months. This leaves five months in the year during which Archangel and the adjacent ports cannot, under ordinary conditions, be reached; not only on account of the freezing of the river, but also because the passage from the Arctic Ocean to the White Sea is blocked with drifting ice. Skilful pilots occasionally succeed in finding a way through, even in



from *Le Correspondant* (Paris)

RUSSIA'S NEW ARCTIC TERMINAL

mid-winter, but these occurrences are too rare to affect the general situation.

Paradoxically, the Russians have sought and found an ice-free port some 350 miles nearer the north pole than Archangel. Thanks to a warm ocean current—the continuation of the Gulf Stream Drift—the whole arctic coast of Lapland is accessible to ships throughout the winter. Thorough hydrographic surveys have been along this coast (the eastern part of which is known as the Murman coast), and the best conditions for developing a great commercial port have been found in Kola fiord, the outlet of the Kola and Tuloma Rivers. Here are situated the two villages of Kola and Alexandrovsk, each of which contained only a few hundred inhabitants and was of trifling importance before the war. They were remote from railways, and the two rivers above mentioned do not offer facilities for navigation.

The Russians originally thought of connecting the proposed arctic seaport by rail with Tornea, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia. This idea was abandoned for two reasons—the Finnish railways did not provide a sufficiently direct route to Petrograd, and their proximity to the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia and of the Baltic exposed them to the danger of a bold attack on the part of Germany. The route chosen to connect Kola with the railway system of the Empire starts at Zwarka, on the line between Petrograd and Vologda, and is as direct as possible. A long section of the line skirts the White Sea, including the ports of Kem and Soroka.

Trains now run through to Kola, whence an automobile service is maintained to Alexandrovsk, pending the completion of the railway to that place.

Of less immediate interest, says M. La Porte, but of great importance for the future economic development of northern Russia, are the plans that have been made for the construction of other and more extensive railway lines, which will connect Kola and Archangel with northeastern European Russia and the mouth of the Obi River, in western Siberia.

M. Rabot sets forth especially the immense natural resources of the province of Archangel, the exploitation of which will at last be made possible by the new railways, present and prospective. The Murman coast possesses cod fisheries equal to those of Norway; the White Sea abounds in herring; the basin of the Dvina is a fertile agricultural region; and, above all, there are enormous virgin forests of pine and other northern woods, the market value of which has recently greatly increased. An Anglo-Russian company is cutting a great tract of Scotch pine in the vicinity of Lake Enara, and an adjoining tract has been acquired by a Norwegian syndicate. It is reported that the further exploitation of the forests in this province will be carried out by the Russian Government itself, for a period of three years following the war, and that the Ministry of Agriculture has planned a special system of new railways and canals in connection with this important undertaking.

GOVERNMENT VERSUS PRIVATE RAILWAYS IN CANADA

IT is unusual to hear or see in this country a thoroughgoing defense of the government ownership of railways based on Canadian experience. Such a defense appears in the February number of the *Journal of Political Economy* (University of Chicago), from the pen of E. B. Biggar, of Toronto.

At the outset Mr. Biggar makes several striking statements illustrating the spread within the past half-century of the theory of state domination of railroads. He says:

If any ten Americans of average intelligence were told that sixty-five countries in the world have railways on a considerable scale and then were asked how many of these carry on their

railways by government ownership or operation the majority would answer from five to ten. They are surprised when told that *fifty-one* of these *sixty-five* nations now nationally control their railway systems by ownership, or operation, or both. It is indeed hard to realize that of all the nations in the world which count for anything in civilization the United States and Canada stand practically alone in having their modern highways, or the great majority of them, under the control of private corporations. The average man will be still more surprised when he learns that in the early years of railway building there was but one nation (Belgium) that maintained the immemorial principle of the state's sovereignty over the highway and applied it to the railway as the new supplanter of the highway.

This change is noteworthy, he thinks, in

two respects. In the first place, since it has attained its momentum there has been no tendency to go back to private ownership. In the whole world there have been only four cases of even partial abandonment of state ownership. These are Paraguay, Cuba, Peru, and Newfoundland. In Peru, however, there is the condition that at the end of a stated period the government may exercise its option of resuming possession. In Cuba, within the last few months, the government has decided to appoint a commission to consider the purchase of the privately owned lines. In Newfoundland the condition is that at the end of fifty years the government may resume possession.

An even more impressive feature of the movement toward state ownership is that it has been brought about in countries of the most diverse forms of government, varieties of race, and conditions of people. Turkish absolutism, Russian autocracy, referendum-ruled Switzerland, and the democracies of Australia and New Zealand have all adopted government ownership. There are seventeen Crown colonies and protectorates in the British Empire, and of these no less than twelve operate their railways under direct government ownership. If the four German colonies now occupied by Great Britain should be retained, the total in this group would be sixteen. Of the self-governing British dominions, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa have all adhered to government ownership, and to these may be added the Indian Empire and Canada, for, although the majority of mileage in Canada is under private ownership, the principle of government ownership of the Intercolonial Railway cannot be abandoned. Great Britain herself, long known as the parent of private ownership, brought her railways under state control on the outbreak of the war; and Mr. Biggar contends that this policy is not likely to be abandoned after the war, since its enormous advantages over private ownership have been fully demonstrated under the unified national control.

Mr. Biggar proceeds to define the true relation of a railway to the people of the state in the following proposition:

First—The railways of a country are the main highways of a country.

Second—There is no source of revenue for a railway other than the rates imposed upon the people for the carrying of their persons and their goods.

Third—This revenue is raised, not from any hidden fountain of wealth within the railway it-

self, but from the earnings of the people, whose labor and money furnish the traffic.

Fourth—By the division of labor in modern civilized life everyone who earns or spends money contributes directly or indirectly to the cost of transportation, and this cost enters into every article used by every citizen.

Fifth—The maintenance of a nation's means of communication is a function of sovereignty, and since all the people contribute to their cost, railway rates are a national tax; and in the more highly civilized countries they are the largest element of all forms of taxation.

Private ownership, according to Mr. Biggar, means the surrender into private hands of an important function of government, with enormous taxing powers but without direct accountability to the people who pay the taxes. No one, he maintains, can purchase or use the simplest article without paying tribute for transportation. "If we follow any article back to its beginning, we shall find that transportation, and not labor or materials, makes up the chief elements of the cost in most cases. It is near the truth to say that the cost of transportation is the cost of living."

Mr. Biggar's review of the railway history of Canada differs at almost every point from the version commonly accepted in this country. He says in conclusion:

Of the three different types of publicly owned railways in Canada—federal, provincial, and municipal—it can be confidently said that all have been successful from at least three different standpoints; that is, honesty of administration, lower rates to the people than are given by private companies, and freedom from the legislative corruption that has followed the surrender to private persons of a national prerogative carrying with it the power of public taxation. To charge the Intercolonial with failure because it does not take from the public more than is required to maintain the service is to misinterpret Canadian history. By the simple step of raising the rates to the level of those of the private railways—which would be mere justice—or even by the device of expropriating the express business now monopolized by the private railways, the Intercolonial could be made to yield a large profit this very year, if that were not a violation of the covenant made with the maritime provinces at confederation. Would the advocates of private ownership have the government of Canada remove the reproach of cheap service by repudiating its constitutional pledges, or would they have justice done by reducing the private companies' rates to the level of the government road?

In postal work the ideal of nearly all the nations of the world is the widest service at the cheapest rate, and scarcely any country seeks to make its postal service a means of profit or public revenue. In the growing company of nations that own their highways the ideal toward which they are striving is that of the postal service rather than the notion of raising surplus taxes by railway profits.

NATURE AND FARM NOTES

Thunder and Hail

A HAIL-STORM is apparently one of the most freakish of the chances which affect the fortunes of the farmer's crops, as it is one of the most devastating. However, it is beginning to be understood that there is a law back of such chances, and protracted observation and comparison of records from the method by which we may hope to discover such laws. The director of the Central Bureau of Meteorology at Paris, M. Alfred Augot, who has recently published a treatise on meteorology which is said to be remarkable has recently laid before the Academy of Agriculture in Paris a record of the occurrence of thunder and of hail during the forty years from 1874 to 1913, taken at the Observatory of the Saint-Maur Park. This shows that hail was more frequent in winter than thunder (in December twenty-four hail-storms and only five thunder-storms). Its maximum was in the spring, from March to May, especially in March (eighty falls in forty years).

Thunder was most frequent in June and July (226 and 221 storms in forty years). Hail is rare in summer, doubtless because the stones have time to be melted and turn to rain before they reach the earth.

Leather as a Fertilizer

That leather has a remarkably high content of nitrogen is sufficiently obvious to any-

one who has ever tried to burn it, thus setting free the evil odors that inhere in many nitrogenous compounds. This constituent of course lends it marked value as a fertilizer, and leather scraps or raspings, sometimes called vermicelli, have a considerable market for this purpose. All sorts of leather are not, however, of equal value, some processes diminishing or even destroying the fertilizing property of the raw skins. This is particularly the case with chrome leather, and the fact that its light color makes it resemble the untreated skins renders the danger of fraud considerable. The whole subject of the fertilizing value of various sorts of leather compared with that of dried blood and of rape-cake has been studied by a French investigator, M. Guillin, and made the subject of a late report to the Academy of Agriculture. Different forms of leather were examined including tanned leather, chrome leather, torrefied leather, and leather dissolved in sulphuric acid. After having been analyzed the various fertilizers were applied in powdered form to the clay-limestone chalky clay soil of Gournay in a "dose" corresponding to one gram of nitrogen per kilogram of earth, which in its natural state contained 0.115 grams of nitric acid. At the end of three months the earth was tested for nitrogen content, with the result shown in the following table, the figures being given in round numbers.

—Richness—		Nature of Fertilizer	Nitric Acid Formed in 3 mos.
Per Cent. Total Nitrogen	Per Cent. Soluble Organic Nitrogen		
100	100	Sample minus fertilizer	0.3 gr.
12	0.6	Dried blood	2.4 gr.
8	0.25	Tanned leather	0.4 gr.
9	0.1	Chrome leather	0.2 gr.
7	0.17	Torrefied leather	0.5 gr.
6.6	2.3	Dissolved leather (in paste)	1.5 gr.
5.6	0.6	Sulphuretted colza	2.3 gr.

From this instructive table we learn that chrome leather is not only useless, but actually contributes to the destruction of pre-existent nitrates. These results were controlled by the cultivation of grain in pots. Taking the weight of the crop from unfertilized earth as a standard of 100 per cent., the pots treated with chrome leather sank to 30 per cent., while the yield from those heated with dissolved leather rose to 115 per cent. M.

April.—7

Guillin found that the torrefied leather, whether acidulated or not, gave only one tenth as much nitrification as dried blood. Ground tanned leather he found to be valueless. These careful experiments prove that the sale of chrome leather trimmings as green leather scraps should be forbidden, while prices of the other fertilizers should be regulated according to the proportion of available nitrogen contained.

Trees Near Vineyards

The use of trees as wind-breaks, as nesting-places for insectivorous birds, or merely for ornament, along the boundaries of vineyards, is attended by certain dangers, according to M. Marchand, a contributor to the *Revue de Viticulture* (France). This lies in the fact that many trees and shrubs harbor the same parasites which attack vines, such as the *cochylis* and the *endemis*. It is recommended, therefore, that care on this point should be exercised by the owners of vineyards; if trees found by a competent entomologist to be dangerous in this regard are too valuable in other respects to be sacrificed they should receive the same precautionary treatment as the vines.

Disinfecting Grain

A French magazine, the *Journal d'Agriculture pratique*, reports the results of a valuable study by M. Marpeaux upon the best means of disinfecting grain affected by rot and smut without seriously affecting the germinative power. He demonstrated by

experiment that the best treatment for rot and smut in wheat and oats, *i. e.*, that which best destroys the parasite while least affecting the vitality of the grain, consists in submitting the latter to the action of solutions of copper (vitriolizing), and then sprinkling it with lime to lessen the injurious action of the copper salt. These operations, however, to some extent diminish the germinative power. The more concentrated the copper sulphate solution and the longer the period of contact, the slower the germination. But the percentage of loss of vitality is not unduly high, the greatest loss shown in M. Marpeaux's experiments being 6 per cent. for the wheat, and 7 per cent. for the oats.

Other experiments led to the conclusion that the coal-tar solutions used to drive away granivorous birds enfeeble the germinative faculty and notably retard the act of sprouting; the investigator advises against the use of these liquids, since the more rapid the sprouting the less danger there is of the grain's being destroyed by creatures which feed upon it.

ART ON AN INDIAN RESERVATION

ON the Grande Ronde Reservation in Yamhill County, Ore., there lives a little Indian boy whose silhouettes cut from pasteboard have won the attention of two contributors to the *Art World* (New York), Messrs. E. Kilpatrick and A. Powers. Little Sampson Simpson is only five years old and has never had opportunities of seeing other children engaged in drawing or any other form of artistic effort. All by himself he has picked up a knack of cutting silhouettes of living objects that he sees from day to day—"The unbroken bronco backed by the wild reservation rider, the indignant steer, with stiff front legs trying to dislodge the riotous cowboy,

the frightened fleeing rabbit, the fish flipping free from the water in a curve which city children might think unnatural or even impossible, the hog, fat and obstinate, the tur-

key, the cock, the dog, the squirrel. He cuts no figures that do not show action. Nearly all his outlines have knees and the knees are generally bent."

This Indian boy artist does not trace his outlines. He directs the shears without guiding lines. He always represents action and he recognizes and expresses the particular action characteristics—within his experience and observation—of the animal he cuts out. When man appears in his silhouettes, he is always in action.



SILHOUETTES CUT FROM LIFE BY A LITTLE INDIAN BOY

POETS OF RELIGIOUS FEELING

PAUL SHIVELL, poet of religion and nature, farmer, and sometime minister of the gospel, was born in Indianapolis and has spent most of his life in the Miami, Mad-River, and Stillwater valleys in southern Ohio. To Professor Bliss Perry credit is due for bringing selections from Shivell's work to the attention of the public in "Stillwater Pastorals," published in the "New Poetry Series."

Paul Shivell is a veritable farmer, though he has made many another fine adventure—whimsical, gallant, tragic—in many parts of the United States. He can plow barefoot and make verses. Vital experience, then, is back of these poems. Good or bad, they are convincingly real. Their fidelity to the local landscape is absolute. They are untouched by any of the conventional ornaments of the "literary" pastoral. Moth and killdeer and morning-glory, the crooked stick in the flooded stream, barn-loft, and pasture in the light of summer and winter dawns, are portrayed with a naïve sincerity which owes little or nothing to books. They are Paul Shivell's life—throbbing with tremulous delight in simple things, ardent as a flame, tender, exigent, haunted by that *Sehnsucht* indescribable by any English word. For he wants, no doubt, what every poet wants: not only the ineffable moment of personal experience, but readers, friends, followers. He has had these last in but scanty measure, and yet in his sonnets he reveals his perfect faith that they will come. "Defeated, we acknowledge no defeat." He asserts with something of an Elizabethan poet's hunger for earthly immortality, his right to be heard, and his certainty of being heard at last. The new generation of enthusiasts for American verse may find Paul Shivell lacking in the technical inventiveness which discovers novel and intricate forms of expression, but they will not turn many pages of this volume before finding that here is the revelation of a personality unique in our twentieth-century literature.

In an interview published in the *Boston Transcript*, Mr. Shivell says, in speaking of the social conditions of the future:

No man can exactly foresee what is coming; but we can all help or hinder the cause of liberty by the life we live, more than by what we say or how we vote. And that brings me to say what I think ails so many of our clever young verse-writers who aspire to be hailed as genuine poets. The cheap sophistry that denies or belittles God and flouts or minimizes immortality will never bring forth out of nature courageous lessons of life for which the needy soul of man is always eagerly waiting.

His sonnet, "War Breaks Out in Europe—August, 1914," reveals the simplicity of his faith in God and a return to a quickened consciousness that mankind is of the body

of God and as unable to be separated from the spiritual as from the material universe.

When from the curious excited throngs,
A man of thoughtful care, I hide my face,
And in the ear of God make simple songs
To please my unspoil'd heart and with wild
grace
Immortalize our virtues, time and place
Bind me no more: for then my soul belongs
To other scenes than these, where nothing base
Disturbs the tranquil mind, nor hint of wrongs
Upon the spiritual sense intrudes.

A modest volume of thoughtful poems called "Bees in Amber," by an Englishman, Mr. A. W. Bunkerly, better known to the public as "John Oxenham," has had great popularity among American readers who read poetry because of its power to comfort and inspire. A second volume contains two collections of verse, "All's Well" and "The King's Highway." Among these poems is the famous "Hymn for the Men at the Front," of which over five million copies have been sold and the proceeds devoted to the various funds for wounded soldiers. The majority of the other poems are distinctly religious in character, full-bodied of faith and inspiring in triumphant spirituality. In the face of England's peril on land and sea, and in the light of the material and mortal sacrifices the people of England are making in the present war, John Oxenham writes with a clear and lofty vision that assures us that

"Behind the dim unknown standeth God within the shadow-keeping watch above His own."

HYMN FOR THE MEN AT THE FRONT
"Lord God of Hosts whose Mighty Hand
Dominion holds on sea and land,
In Peace and War Thy Will we see
Shaping the larger liberty.
Nations may rise and nations fall,
Thy Changeless Purpose rules them all.

When Death flies swift on wave or field,
Be thou a sure defense and shield;
Console and succor those who fall,
And help and hearten each and all;
O hear a people's prayers for those
Who fearless face their country's foes.

For those who weak and broken lie,
In weariness and agony—
Great Healer, to their beds of pain
Come, touch and make them whole again!
O hear a people's prayers and bless
Thy servants in their hour of stress!

For those who minister and heal,
And spend themselves, their skill, their zeal—
Renew their hearts with Christ-like faith,
And guard them from disease and death.
And in Thine own good time, Lord, send
Thy Peace on earth till Time shall end."

Naturally this new verse was written for those who were most in the writer's mind, the men and boys at the front, and to those who are left behind to endure grievous anxiety and sorrow. The "Hymn for the Men at the Front" is a recession of faith, a promise that the future shall repair the past. One remarkable poem is called "No Man Goeth Alone." Another, "Christ's All," was inspired by one of W. T. Stead's favorite sayings: "Be christ's," not "Be like Christ," but literally "*Be christ's*." Mr. Stead, as John Oxenham notes, used the word in its original meaning, "anointed, ordained, chosen."

Mr. Oxenham is a cheery, breezy man of middle height with brown hair and a beard. He is fond of family life and devoted to open-air sports. Besides the books of verse, he has written many hymns and thirty popular novels. In the *Book News Monthly* for February, Mr. Robert Cochrane has given ample information about his life and work:

Born at Manchester, he attended old Trafford School and Victoria University; afterwards he went into business and lived for some years in France and the United States. He visited the Southern States with a view to orange-growing or fruit-farming, but decided against them—fortunately for his millions of readers—and came back to Britain. He had been offered in Georgia forty thousand acres of good pine and vine grass land at ten cents per acre or nine hundred pounds. He took to writing as an alleviative to business, and early found a public. The *Graphic* took his first story in 1893. Some of his really fine school stories are gathered in "A Song of Hyacinth." For many years he has had a contract with Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, and Messrs. Methuen, to furnish a novel annually, the only recent exception being "My Lady of the Moor," which, at the request of Beatrice Chase, went to Longmans. His latest novel with Methuen is "1914," a story of the influence and effect of the great war on a very interesting family.

The years Oxenham spent in London with the roar of Fleet Street in his ears are reflected in "Rising Fortunes," a journalistic story in which there are traces of autobiography. The tramps he made with a knapsack in the West Highlands to Fort William; his residence in the United States, where he lived some years at Orange, New Jersey; journeys in Europe from Stockholm to Genoa, have all aided in furnishing local color for his books. He was in Hanover during the Franco-Prussian War, and in Paris in time to see the last days of the Commune, which furnished scenes for his "Under the Iron Flail."

Several books on mysticism written by a talented Englishwoman, Evelyn Underhill, have found their way to a large circle of readers in this country. A collection of verse, "Immanence," and a study of "John of Ruysbroeck," also met generous appreciation. Miss Underhill's last publication is a volume of poems, mostly religious in character, called "Theophanies," prefaced by the quotation from John Scotus Erigena: "Every visible and invisible creature is a theophany or appearance of God."

The religious feeling of these poems is that of the mystic whose Muse sits at the bottom of an emerald Lake of Dreams and blows bubbles of beauty to the surface to float in delicate prophecy of a future of peace and brotherly love in the midst of our present brutal reality. Together with the religious sentiment of her work you will find much eloquence devoted to Nature. In a poem, "The Tree," she writes:

"Tall Tree your name is peace
You are the channel of God."

Throughout the book there are constant references to the beauty of the English countryside, and all the flowers and herbs of the garden are gathered into her rhymes. One poignant poem, "Any Englishwoman," reveals her feeling about the war.

MAY, 1915

England's in flower

On every tree speared canopies unfold,
And sacred beauty crowns the lowliest weeds
Lifting their eager faces from the mold:

Even in this hour

The unrelented pressure of the spring
Thrusts out new lovely life unfaltering—
Towards what deeds?
What dreadful blossoming?

Ah, the red spines upon the curving briar
They tear the heart

Great with desire

And sick with sleepless pain

For one that comes not again.

There's horror in the fragrance of the air,
Torment in this intolerable art.

White petals on the pear

Yet peering there,

I see beyond the rapture of young green

And passion of pale fire,

The Glutton Death, who smiles upon the scene.



THE NEW BOOKS

THE "NEW POETRY" AND OTHER

MANY people are confused as to the nature of the "new poetry" for the reason that we have not had sufficiently comprehensive anthologies to give a comparative view of its different varieties. Mr. W. S. Braithwaite has from year to year collected what in his judgment were the best poems published in the magazines for each particular year, and these have served to give us a partial survey of the field of poetry. This year we have not only Mr. Braithwaite's admirable volume, but also an anthology, "The New Poetry," brought out by the Macmillan Company. And to supplement these collections, there is an anthology of the verse of the undergraduates of sixty colleges. With these three volumes at hand one is able to analyze the work of certain groups of poets and observe their experimentation with poetic theories. In the college anthology one observes that groups have not formed. The poems hang between the patterns of the English poetry taught in our colleges and the strong pull of youth's natural radicalism and love of novelty. It is the poetry of youth, however, and as such has an extraordinary fascination.

It is necessary to remember when reading the new poetry that it has the quality of modern life. It belongs to its period as surely as Tennyson's to the Victorian age; and every man is related to its basic substratum. Lafcadio Hearn once wrote in an appreciation of poetry, that there arose everywhere, from winds, seas, forests and from the cities of men sounds which blend into one great sound, which is the music of life, and that "the world itself is like a great shell full of this sound . . . a shell on the verge of the Infinite." Our civilization, nationalism, social ferment, the constant flux of our particular individualism, is in the new poetry. It is the sound echoing from the shell of our times.

"The New Poetry," an anthology edited by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson, editors of the magazine *Poetry*, contains representative work of that which is commonly called the "new poetry." Miss Monroe says that this poetry strives for a "concrete and immediate realization of life. . . . It is less vague, less verbose, less eloquent than most poetry of the Victorian period and much work of earlier periods. It has set before itself an ideal of absolute simplicity and sincerity—an ideal which implies individual and unsteretyped diction . . . it becomes intensive rather than diffuse."

One cannot escape the reflection, however, that the use of rhyme would help much of the "new poetry" tremendously, despite objections. Take, for instance, that widely praised poem of Amy Lowell's—"Patterns." It excels much of her other imagist verse solely by the surplus of rhyme and

fastens itself in memory for this very reason.

The editors have been discriminating in their choices and praiseworthy generous to newcomers. They include selections from the writings of over one hundred poets and versifiers. For the envisioning of the range of the "new poetry," and a comparison of its diversities, there is no other collection that compares with this anthology.

The "Anthology of Magazine Verse" for 1916, edited by William Stanley Braithwaite, is decidedly the best of the series of his anthologies, or year-books, of American poetry so far published. This is accounted for in part by the ripening of the fresh impulse interjected into American poetry from 1912 onwards and by the fostering and stabilizing of the art by sympathetic patrons. Mr. Braithwaite says that "at the beginning of the present year one could define four separate groups of poets—the traditionalists, the social-revolutionists, the imagists, and the radicals of *Others*, the magazine of the new verse, who regard Ezra Pound as their master." In the imagist group Miss Amy Lowell has assured leadership. Of the traditionalists one cannot be so sure. Probably George Sterling and Clinton Scollard would be recognized as masters of modern classicism in poetry. In the social-revolutionary group are James Oppenheim and Carl Sandburg, and of the radicals, Mr. Alfred Kreymborg has triumphed over Mr. Pound's belligerent sheepfold.

It is evident, as Mr. Braithwaite observes, that, while there is less sensationalism in last year's poetic achievement, there is more solid success. Out of the list of approximately one hundred poems of the anthology, it is difficult to select many that by great measure excel the others. Some poems that will impress all readers with their fine quality are: "If I Could Hold My Grief," a sonnet by Corinne Roosevelt Robinson; the much-quoted "Cinquains," by the late Adelaide Crapsey; "America and France," the work of the lamented Alan Seeger; "The Unforgiven," by Edwin Arlington Robinson; "The Hill Wife," by Robert Frost; "The Hills," by Thomas S. Jones; "Music," by Alice Corbin Henderson; "Malmaison," by Amy Lowell, and "The Star," by Edgar Lee Masters.

As usual, the volume includes a list of poets and poems published in magazines in the year 1916, also one of volumes of poetry, books about poets, articles, reviews, etc.

"The Poets of the Future," a college anthology for 1915-1916, contains 140 of the best poems written by American university students during the past college year. Sixty colleges are repre-

¹ The New Poetry. Edited by Harriet Monroe and Alice Corbin Henderson. Macmillan. 404 pp. \$1.75.

² Anthology of Magazine Verse. Edited by W. S. Braithwaite. Gomme. 266 pp. \$2.

³ The Poets of the Future. Edited by Henry T. Schnittkind. The Stratford, Boston. 147 pp. \$1.

sented in the anthology. The purpose in publishing the book is to encourage the production of literature in our universities and to show the public the talent ripening in them, as yet unrecognized and unheralded. The volume is edited by Henry T. Schnittkind, Ph. D., and William Stanley Braithwaite has written the sympathetic introduction, "The Springtime of American Song."

As to the poems in the anthology, they represent almost every kind of poetic bent. Several are imitative, worthily so; others highly original, a few stumble in rhythm, and many are immature. Yet there is a freshness about the whole

collection that is delightful. These young poets are writing out of youth and a zest for life. They have not become mannered nor stultified by worldly sophistication. "Midsummer," by John Grimes, is remarkable for its imagery. "Sea Visions," by Katherine Harrower, of Barnard College; "To the Statue Venus de Melos," by J. B. Noss, Franklin and Marshall College; "To _____," by William Hillman, Columbia, and "The Hemp," a fine ballad, by Stephen Vincent Benet, of Yale, deserve honorable mention. By all means let us have more of these college anthologies. If it be necessary to love them indulgently, that indulgence is to our credit.

RECENT BOOKS OF VERSE

"Afternoon." By Emile Verhaeren. John Lane. 77 pp. \$1.

A collection of thirty poems reminiscent of hours spent in a sunlit garden. They picture the gracious love life of long-married lovers, and show the transformation of steadfast affection into the serene passion of the soul that neither decay of loveliness nor the habitude of the commonplace can injure. The melodious translation is the work of Charles R. Murphy.

Collected Poems. By William Davies. Alfred A. Knopf. 190 pp. \$1.

Among next month's publications you will find "The Autobiography of a Super-Tramp," an account of the wandering life Mr. Davies led in America before the commencement of his literary career in London. The poet lived as a super-tramp for six years, varying the monotony by occasional trips across the Atlantic on cattle-boats. His first book, "The Soul Destroyer," was written while he lived at a mean lodging-house in London on an income of ten shillings a week. The only place he had in which to compose was a corner of the kitchen, where the lodgers dried their boots and toasted herring before the fire. Many transcripts of his experiences are found in the collected poems. They have a curious likeness to the melody of the Cavalier poets, a linnnet-like ecstasy. Even the poems that picture sordidness and poverty are inexpressibly fresh and appealing. Like Maschfield, he cannot escape from the spell of the sea, and writes:

"The sea is loth to lose a friend;
Men of one voyage, who have spent
Six months with him, hear his vexed cry
Haunting their houses till they die."

His grandfather was an old sea captain, and Mr. Davies recalls his curious house in a poem, "The Child and the Mariner":

"In this old captain's house I lived, and things
The house contained were in ships' cabins once:
Seashells and charts and pebbles, model ships;
Green weeds, dried fishes stuffed, and coral stalks;
Old wooden trunks with handles of spliced rope,
With copper saucers full of monies strange,

An ivory lighthouse built on ivory rocks;
The bones of fishes and three bottled ships,
And many a thing was there which sailors make
In idle hours when on long voyages
Of marvelous patience to no lovely end.
And on those charts I saw the small black dots
That were called islands, and I knew they had
Turtles and palms and pirates' buried gold."

The Broken Wing. By Sarojini Naidu. John Lane. 120 pp. \$1.25.

A third volume of poems by the Hindu poetess contains songs of love, death, and destiny. They are saturated with the magic of the East, exquisite in verbal beauty and eloquent with spiritual comprehension. The love poems may be compared with Elizabeth Barrett Browning's in their abandonment to devotion, and the continual invocation of Divine Will gives them the spirit of the words of Rabindranath Tagore, quoted by way of foreword:

"My passion shall burn as the flame of salvation,
The flower of my love shall become the ripe
fruit of devotion."

Retrogression. By William Watson. John Lane. 98 pp. \$1.25.

A fine, vigorous collection of verse by the dean of English poetry and the acknowledged master of elegiac verse. The first half of the volume answers his critics and begs us to consider the ill wrought upon English literature by our modern slovenly manner of writing. The last half consists of general and personal poems, among which are a few dedicated to childhood. "Nature's Way," "Mastery," and the title poem are strong and sonorous. "Who Can Tell?" asks a pertinent question.

"The Celtic Twilight? Yes,
Follow the beckon of its faery moon,
But wherefore chide me if I love not less
The Saxon Noon?"

Ah, what if Time should breathe
On both the same cold edict of decay,
And with the sole unwithering garland wreath
The Hellenic Day?"

Divinations and Creation. By Horace Holley. Mitchell Kennerley. \$1.25.

This volume contains Mr. Holley's post-impressionist poems, published separately under the name of "Creation" two years ago, and an entirely new collection. The public is familiar with the splendid vers libre of "Creation." The new poems, "Divinations," are not entirely written in free verse, but they all belong to the so-called "new poetry." They are lustrous cups of many metals, but the wine in all of them is the same. It is the rhythm of emotion, casting endlessly to the surface the bright effervescence of the will to live. The title poem, "Epigrams," "Totem," a poem to America; "Home," Renaissance, and "Life" reveal a temperament individual in fusing metrical harmony with spiritual aspiration and fulness of thought. Miss Harriet Monroe has selected three of these poems for her anthology of "new poetry," and W. S. Braithwaite has included "Cross Patch" and a sonnet, "The Orchard," in his anthology for 1916. "Hertha," a tribute to the poet's little daughter, is particularly felicitous:

"She will grow
Beautiful.
Beauty will come to her,
Given like sun and rain;
Will go to her
Freely like laughter.
She will be
Center, circumference to a great joy,
Swiftly passing, repassing,
Like water in and from a limpid well.
She is of the new generation, new;
Torch for the flame of passion,
Flame for the torch of love.

She will grow
Beautiful.
No, beauty itself will grow
Like her."

Ballads: Patriotic and Romantic. By Clinton Scollard. Gomme. 182 pp. \$1.50.

A collection of choice ballads and two groups of poems, "The Lure of the Orient" and "The Lyric Quest." Mr. Scollard's marvelous technique and facility keep all his work up to a high standard of excellence. Frequently in this volume he triumphs over his poetic ease and writes a golden stanza that remains in memory a tried and trusted friend. "Sanctuary" attests the strong appeal of his religious verse:

"Let us put by some hour of every day
For Holy things—whether it be when dawn
Peers through the window pane, or when the
noon
Flames like a burnished topaz in the vault,
Or when the thrush pours in the ear of eve
Its plaintive melody; some little hour
Wherein to hold rapt converse with the soul,
From sordidness and self a sanctuary,
Swept by the winnowing of unseen wings,
And touched by the White Light Ineffable."

The Cycle's Rim. By Olive Tilford Dargan. Scribner's. 73 pp. \$1.

It would be difficult to overpraise these deli-

cate and remarkable sonnets written to "one drowned at sea." They are contemplative, elegiac, yet of such ardent passionate, spiritual instinct that they must pass into proper classification with great love poetry of the world. Mrs. Dargan is fortunate in her choice of the Shakespearean sonnet of three verses of four lines each, closed by a couplet. She has not needed, like Mrs. Browning, the emotional check of the Italian sonnet form. The heavy dramatic poetry of Mrs. Dargan's previous books has displayed her poetic gifts to less advantage than this form, which is pliant to her precious imagery and affords setting for the occasional line of absolute inspired perfection. There is usually no perceptible pause at the end of the second quatrain. The sonnets are unified, and the closing couplet never appears as an anti-climax. One of the most beautiful of the sonnets follows:

"My Carmel withers 'neath the foot of Spring,
And perished is the house of ivory;
My lake of Edom is a brackish thing;
No more my mountains drop sweet wine to me;
There is no song from any temple coming,
Oh, not a Bethel stone for my sunk head;
Beneath my altar is the banewort blooming,
A bitter salt is on my holy bread.
My aspiration that as eagle flew
Through conquered skies, falls plumb and
leaden still;
Ambition's fires are dead of tearful dew;
I stir cold ashes when I urge my will.
Love was the sun I read all meanings by,
And called the habit life; that broke, I die."

Poems. By Florence Earle Coates. 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin. \$2.50 per set.

Mrs. Coates' lyrics are widely known, both in this country and in Great Britain. This comprehensive collection contains many poems of great beauty and maintains a general average of excellence. Readers who do not like the so-called "new poetry" will find these poems most gratifying in their adherence to classical meters, the use of rhyme, and their acceptance of certain standards that have been called "Victorian." For persons who read poetry for its comforting power and inspiration no better collection could be suggested. Mrs. Coates' poems appeal to the heart; they are the ideal expressions of a fertile mind tempered with sympathetic understanding of life as a whole. Among the lyrics decidedly worth memorizing is one called "Song":

"If love were but a little thing,
Strange love, which, more than all, is great—
One might not such devotion bring,
Early to serve and late.

If love were but a passing breath—
Wild love—which, as God knows, is sweet—
One might not make of life and death
A pillow for love's feet."

The Road to Castaly. By Alice Brown. Macmillan. 170 pp. \$1.50.

Verses published previously under this title and many later poems make up this new volume. One is accustomed to think of Alice Brown as

the author of the prize play, "Children of Earth," and as a successful short-story writer, rather than as a poet, but this book will not fail to convince her readers of her great natural gift for poetic expression. The poems in this collection are diverse of theme, thoughtful, and reverent of mood, and strong with a certain dramatic propulsion. The poetic drama, "The Immortal Witness," is resplendent with the "glory that was Greece." Many of the most delightful poems are placed in the form of direct personal address. The lyrics, "The Wedding Garment," "Tribute," "Delight," "Vision," and "Lost Love," are remarkable for their tenderness, grace, and harmony.

Glad of Earth. By Clement Wood. Gomme. 143 pp. \$1.

This first book by Clement Wood contains "polyrhythmic poems," unrhymed verse of the variety commonly known as *vers libre*. They have a surface resemblance to the poems written

by James Oppenheim. There are three groups: "Glad of Earth," portraits of individuals and types; "Comrades," ardent love poems, and "New Roads," socialistic poems that protest against conditions that hamper individual development. As a whole, they are intensely human and inspiring. The individual poems are sparks flung out of the crucible of Youth, where old evil dies in the flame of new understanding.

The poems "Dust," "Birth" and "A Prayer," are so intrinsically beautiful one must prophesy much for Mr. Wood's future as a poet. He is twenty-seven years of age, a native of Alabama, and a graduate of the Yale Law School, '11. His work is widely known through his writings for the *Call*, the *Masses*, and poems published in newspapers and magazines. He won the prize offered in the 250th Anniversary of the City of Newark Poetry Competition with "The Smithy of God," a poem that received general praise.

PLAYS AND BOOKS ON THE ARTS OF THE THEATER

Plays and Players. By Walter Prichard Eaton. Stewart, Kidd. 424 pp. \$2.

Criticisms of plays, acting, and all dramatic matters, to be read leisurely for their fine literary flavor and delightful vein of satire. The best thing about Mr. Eaton's sketches, beyond their sound judgment, is that they are intensely readable. A critical, constructive, clean-cut and amusing book for everyone interested in theatrical arts.

Play Production in America. By Arthur Edwin Krows. Holt. 400 pp. \$2.

A comprehensive illustrated book of detailed information for play producers. There are six chapters on the acceptance of plays—three on their direction—and ten chapters on decorations, scenery and costumes. The remainder of the book discusses managerial activities, play advertising, and the accommodation and comfort of audiences. A competent guide to all departments of play production.

The Inspector General. By Nicolay Gogol. Translated by Thomas Seltzer. Knopf. \$1.

A Russian critic writes: "Russia possesses only one comedy, 'The Inspector General.'" This volume is a new and complete version of Gogol's four-act play written in 1835, which, by holding up to ridicule the officials of a typical municipality, struck a definite blow at the tyrannous bureaucracy of the Russian Government.

Moral. By Ludwig Thoma. Translated by Charles Recht. Knopf. \$1.

A comedy in three acts that asks and answers the questions: What is morality? and: Which is the more important, that we are moral or that we seem moral? The play appeared in 1898, and has been presented constantly in Germany

since that time. Take the factors of hypocrisy and mock puritanism and irrepressible fear lest one lose the essentials of righteousness, marshaled against the pull of vagrant impulse, curiosity, and primitive animalism; manage to make your advocates on both sides ridiculous and show how patched a garment public morality may be, and you have Thoma's brilliant comedy.

Representative American Plays. Edited by Arthur Hobson Quinn. Century. 968 pp. \$2.75.

Twenty-five American plays, by the leading dramatists of the country, that show the development of the American drama from 1767 to the present time. Each play is prefaced by a short biographical sketch of the author, the cast of the first performance, and other interesting detail. This is the first collection of its kind and its significance and value will recommend it to all classes of readers. Among the early American plays are: "Andre," by William Dunlap (1798); "Charles the Second," by John Howard Payne and Washington Irving (1824); "The Triumph at Plattsburgh," by Richard Penn Smith, and "Pocahontas, or the Settlers of Virginia," by George Washington Parke Custis (1830).

Read-Aloud Plays. By Horace Holley. Kennerley. 133 pp. \$1.

In these nine short plays for reading only we have a return to a very old art, and the carrying on of the dramatic principles of the Gordon Craig theories of stage art to the ultimate goal of symbolic stage methods, that is, plays that are not to be staged properly speaking, plays that need no scenery, no accessories, lighting or actors, but only a room, listeners, and the magic of a human voice vocalizing their phrases. Mr. Holley says: "In the long run everything human rises or falls to the level of speech." Such plays read sym-

pathetically lose their apparent vagueness; the objective settings materialize in mental substance illuminated by the emotional electricity of the listener, and the plays stage themselves according to our wealth or poverty upon the mental and emotional planes of life. The most successful of these plays are: "Her Happiness," "Rain," "The Incompatibles," and "Survival."

The Little Boy Out of the Wood. By Kathleen C. Greene. John Lane. 75 cents.

Another volume of short, poetic, fanciful plays arranged for reading aloud. There are seven in the book, and all but one build their habitat in the imagination through the spell of the human voice. "The Princess on the Road," a tale of a real princess who goes out among the country folk in disguise and has to prove her royalty to avoid a ducking, is easily the gem of the collection.

Two Plays and a Rhapsody. By Katherine Howard. Published by the author, San Diego, Cal.

Mrs. Howard's inspirational works, "Eve" and "The Book of the Serpent," are well known both in this country and in England, and a collection of poems of childhood, "The Little God," has had generous appreciation. The two plays of her last volume in literary style are similar to her moyen-age play, "Candle Flame." Over all of them there is a glamor, a rhythmic beauty peculiar to her poetic prose that gives them a likeness to ancient tapestries whose half blurred figures have suddenly become instinct with life. In "The House of the Future," a play that has no plot or time, the characters are a lord and a lady, their children, Ynid and Ynial, an old nurse, and the master of the house, sometimes called Death and sometimes called Life. The other play, "The House of Life," pictures the passing of two young people through a strange mansion. It contains closets of secrets, a Hall of Mirrors, where personality is reflected at many angles; a door that opens on the mists of death, and from the roof one may envision the stars. The final beauty and triumphant assertion of the plays is that the supernatural is only another phase of the natural. The "Rhapsody" describes and interprets a poet's vision of the spirit of Eternal Youth.

La Pecedora. By Angel Guimera. Translated by Wallace Gillpatrick. Putnam. \$1.25.

This beautiful play is one of the publications of the Hispanic Society of America. It came to this country by way of a first production in Mexico City in 1902. Guimera wrote the play for the famous Spanish actress, Maria Guerrero. The action takes place in a pueblo in Catalonia, Spain. Daniela, the heroine, a woman who has left her native village and become a famous singer, returns after fifteen years to seek health. She is not a woman who can go on living on externals like a brilliant orchid of the air; she is dying because the realities of love and motherhood have not entered into her life. Her attempts to find solace in the children of Ramon, her childhood sweetheart who has married, are frustrated by his jealous wife, Antonia. The

villagers treat the stranger with suspicion and Daniela dies rocking an empty cradle, appealing to the mother who never deserts her children—La Madre de Dios.

The Son of Man. By E. Russell Herts. Frank Shay. 50 cents.

Mr. Herts puts the historical Jesus of Nazareth upon the stage in person in this play, for he does not think this more objectionable than the painter's idea of him on canvas, or the author's in print. Curiously enough in this drama, to which Mr. Herts has given thoughtful workmanship and the beauties of Christian idealism, the figures of Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Pontius Pilate dwarf the principal figure in the reading. One wonders if actual stage production will restore the author's intention and make Jesus of Nazareth the dominating character.

Three Plays. By Padraic Colum. Little, Brown. 223 pp. \$1.25.

Mogu the Wanderer. By Padraic Colum. Little, Brown. 115 pp. \$1.

Two young Irishmen established and fixed the well-known type of modern Irish peasant play. These men were J. M. Synge and Padraic Colum. The "Three Plays," published in a single volume, are those that placed Mr. Colum in the foremost ranks of Irish dramatists. They are "Thomas Muskerry," "The Land," and "The Fiddler's House." "Mogu the Wanderer" is an Oriental fantasy by Mr. Colum, published in a separate binding. This brilliant, spectacular play was written in 1912 and hastily brought out to establish its priority to "Kismet." The scenes are set along the fringes of the desert on the frontier of the Persian and Roman Empires. The theme resembles that of "Kismet." A beggar is suddenly elevated to the position of vizier. His daughter becomes the consort of the king. Another turn of the wheel of fate thrusts them back into the desert, once more the wanderers and beggars they were at the beginning. The play is fascinating and it presents a new phase of Mr. Colum's dramatic invention. The key to this phase is in his volume of poems, "Wild Earth." An Irish drover minds his herds along the wet hills of Meath. But his thoughts, they wander:

"And my thoughts on white ships
And the King o' Spain's daughter."

Three Welsh Plays. By Jeannette Marks. Little, Brown. 87 pp. \$1.

These plays, "The Merry, Merry Cuckoo," "The Deacon's Hat," and "Welsh Honeymoon," were awarded the first prize by the Welsh National Theater for the best Welsh plays. For sheer loveliness, humor, and the revealing of eternal wisdom through human nature, these plays easily surpass most of the one-act plays offered to the public. The author writes in the preface of the priceless gifts that the true Welsh character has bestowed upon the world. One gift is their inherent romance in the difficult art of living. And because the Welsh are "profoundly emotional and yet intellectually critical, they are, humanly speaking, perfect tools for the achievement of great drama."

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

Makers of the Nineteenth Century. Diaz. By David Hannay. Holt. 319 pp. Ill. \$2.

Because he was the only Mexican who ever projected himself on the screen of the national history in a way that endured more than a decade, the world was inclined to attribute to Porfirio Diaz qualities and capacities that would have made him a great leader in any nation or at any stage of the world's history. We now know that his statesmanship fell far short of contemporary estimates. Yet we may forgive the exaggerated judgments of the past generation, since there was in his career so much that was attractive, picturesque, and on the whole serviceable to his time. This sketch by Mr. Hannay has the merit of conciseness and at the same time it imparts enough of Mexican history and Mexican atmosphere to make intelligible the achievements of the man who figured for forty years as the greatest living Mexican.

Henry Ford's Own Story. As told to Rose Wilder Lane. Ellis O. Jones, pub. 184 pp. \$1.

This book is something more than the romantic story of the rise of an American multimillionaire. It fails to give all the details of the automobile inventions that have made it possible for their originator to distribute \$10,000,000 a year among his employees as their share of the manufacturing profits, but it hits the "high places" throughout Henry Ford's career. The writer goes below the surface and attempts to interpret the human qualities and impulses that have made that career what it is. Because of its very simplicity and strongly American characteristics the story is a stimulating one.

George Armstrong Custer. By Frederick S. Dellenbaugh. Macmillan. 188 pp. Ill. 50 cents.

A significant thing about this sketch of General Custer is the fact that the author is a well-known authority on western life, was a contemporary of Custer, and knew well the ground over which the Indian campaigns that culminated in the battle of the Little Big Horn were conducted. That part of Custer's career which is less familiar to the present generation—his rapid rise as a young cavalry officer in the Civil War—has not been neglected by Mr. Dellenbaugh. There is a good account of his work on McClellan's staff and as a subordinate to Sheridan. The interest of the book culminates, however, in the story of Custer's Indian fights, and particularly of the attack by the Sioux on June 25, 1876, in which Custer and all his command lost their lives. The preface of the book is signed by General Custer's widow.

Memories. By Edward Clodd. New York: Putnam's. 288 pp. \$3.

Edward Clodd, English banker, scientist, and past master of the Gentle Art of Making Friends, in setting down his impressions and reminiscences of the eminent men and women he has known and is "proud to think about," has given us a rich series of charming portraits in pastel. And more, he has enriched current literature with

a delightfully chatty and informal, yet none the less highly valuable, record of England's intellectual progress in the last fifty years—a progress away from age-old superstitions and toward rational thinking, shared in goodly part by the whole English-speaking world. The richness of the retrospect upon which he draws may be indicated by the statement that this fascinating book contains intimate and anecdotal sketches of, and characteristic letters from, such leaders of light and learning as Thomas Henry Huxley, Herbert Spencer, Richard A. Proctor, Sir Alfred Lyall, Sir Henry Thompson, Frederick Yorke Powell, Grant Allen, the Rev. Moncure D. Conway, the Rev. Charles Voysey, and a score of others. There are particularly interesting and valuable memorials of George Meredith, George Gissing, Andrew Lang, and other authors of the time, including Samuel Butler, who is characterized as "a man with a grievance," and whose irritating experience it was to realize the truth of Chauncey Depew's saying that "When once you've stood on your head, the public won't let you stand on your feet." Readers who take any interest in the great English contribution of the last half-century to the cause of intellectual freedom should not overlook this volume.

Story of My Life and Work. By G. Frederick Wright, D.D. Oberlin, O.: Bibliotheca Sacra Company. 459 pp. \$2.

Prof. G. Frederick Wright, the author of "The Ice Age in North America," has written much on the subject of the glacial period, to which he has given special study for forty years, as well as on the relations of science and religion. Several chapters in his autobiography are devoted to accounts of journeys that he has made in Asia and Europe, chiefly for purposes of glacial research. Dr. Wright is now professor emeritus of the Oberlin Theological Seminary, and for many years has edited the Bibliotheca Sacra.

My Table-Cloths: A Few Reminiscences. By Mrs. Alec-Tweedie, F.R.G.S. Doran. 320 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

Reminiscences of distinguished personages of various nationalities, who from time to time have been dinner guests of Mrs. Alec-Tweedie. The mere list of these famous names occupies eight closely printed pages. Nearly every profession and every country are represented.

Glimpses of the Cosmos. By Lester F. Ward. V. V., 1893-1897. Putnam. 346 pp. \$2.50.

This is the fifth volume of what has been called Dr. Ward's "mental autobiography," a work conceived on the unusual plan of reproducing without abridgment every bit of writing published during the author's lifetime, with biographical and historical notes.

Dr. J. B. Cranfill's Chronicle: An Autobiography. Revell. 496 pp. Ill. \$2.

The autobiography of a Texan, covering various interesting phases of life in Texas.

SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICS

Outline of Applied Sociology. By Henry Pratt Fairchild, Ph. D. Macmillan. 353 pp. \$1.75.

As a text-book this work introduces the student directly to the facts of social life. If it seems to minimize or to a degree ignore the theory of the science of sociology the reader need not be dismayed, for he can find an abundance of works in every library that will give him the theoretical side of the subject. In one respect Professor Fairchild's book differs from most of those now in use in our colleges and universities. Instead of treating each question as an unrelated problem this author tries to take a comprehensive view of the entire field of social life and social endeavor and to correlate the various aspects of social organization. His treatment of specific topics may be regarded as more summary than that of other writers in this field, but there is a compensating advantage in the emphasis placed upon the analysis and classification of social facts, each in its relation to a comprehensive whole.

The Physical Basis of Society. By Carl Kelsey, Ph. D. Appleton. 406 pp. \$2.

A new work, written from the biological viewpoint, dwelling on the physical background of life, the relation of the organism to its environment, the question of heredity, the general idea of evolution as applied to human beings, and the development of social theory. Dr. Kelsey's method has been thoroughly tested in classroom work at the University of Pennsylvania. The enthusiasm of his classes seemed to warrant a development of his theme to meet the demands of a larger audience.

Women Workers and Society. By Annie Marion MacLean, Ph. D. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 135 pp. 50 cents.

The status in our industrial system and the treatment accorded to the eight million women engaged in labor outside the home in this country are defined and described in this little book, which is one of the "National Social Science Series," edited by President McVey, of the University of North Dakota. The connection between woman's labor and woman's vote is to be treated more fully, the editor promises, in another volume of the series.

Profit and Wages: A Study in the Distribution of Income. By G. A. Kleene. Macmillan. 171 pp. \$1.25.

This discussion of one of the most difficult economic problems leads back from many of the conclusions of more recent writers in this field to the doctrines of the so-called "classical" school of Ricardo, and the wages-fund theory.

The Control of Strikes in American Trade Unions. By George Milton Janes, Ph. D. The Johns Hopkins Press.

Professor Janes' monograph on strikes com-

bines personal investigations, interviews, and correspondence with national and local trade-union officials and employers of labor with information gathered from the trade-union publications in the Johns Hopkins Library. It is highly useful as a study of collective bargaining (in its outward aspects) that has been a prominent feature of American industrial life for the past fifty years.

Annual Report of the New York Industrial Commission for the Twelve Months Ended September 30, 1915. Transmitted to the Legislature April 17, 1916. Albany: State Department of Labor. 417 pp.

Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, January, 1917. Vol. VII, No. 1. Labor Disputes and Public Service Corporations. Edited by Henry Raymond Mussey. The Academy of Political Science, Columbia University. 190 pp. \$1.50.

This is a valuable survey of American, Canadian, and Australian experience in governmental mediation and arbitration, with statements of the attitude of the labor unions toward compulsory arbitration, mediation, and conciliation.

Modern Currency Reforms. By Edwin Walter Kemmerer, Ph. D. Macmillan. 564 pp. \$2.40.

This volume describes recent changes in the currency systems of India, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands, the Straits Settlements, and Mexico. Through the discussion of these reforms the author hopes to throw light on fundamental monetary principles. Those Asiatic and Latin-American countries which are expecting soon to undertake reforms of their currency systems may derive from the experience of the five currency reforms analyzed by Professor Kemmerer examples and warnings that may be useful. Each one of the five countries had a different problem, but in a number of respects the experiences of all were similar. Dr. Kemmerer was financial adviser to the Philippine Government from 1903 to 1906.

The Principles of Natural Taxation. By C. B. Fillebrown. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 281 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A compendium of single-tax discussion by those writers who have been pioneers and specialists in this field of thought, from Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill to Henry George, Father McGlynn, and Thomas G. Shearman.

Principles of Insurance. Vol. I: Life. Vol. II: Fire. By W. F. Gephart. Macmillan. 385 pp. and 332 pp., respectively. \$1.50 per vol.

A discussion of life and fire insurance offered for classroom use in schools and colleges. Heretofore it has been difficult to obtain material on this subject in convenient form for educational purposes. Most of it has been confined to gov-

ernment documents, official reports of insurance companies, published addresses, and pamphlets. The author of these volumes has had experience in the insurance business and in association with insurance organizations, as well as in teaching.

Addresses and Papers on Insurance. By Rufus M. Potts. State of Illinois. 489 pp.

Addresses on social welfare and unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation, as well as many topics related to the general field of life and fire insurance, are treated in these papers and addresses by the State Insurance Superintendent of Illinois.

Studies in Democracy. By Julia H. Gulliver, Ph. D. Putnam's. 98 pp. \$1.

Essays by the president of Rockford College for Women, on the essence and efficiency of democracy, and the American woman's contribution thereto.

The Public Defender. By Mayer C. Goldman. Foreword by Justice Wesley O. Howard. Putnam's. \$1.

In a foreword Justice Wesley O. Howard, of the Appellate Division, New York Supreme Court, declares that provision should be made in our statutes for a public defender to look after the rights of the poor in the administration of justice. Mr. Goldman, the author of this book, has prepared bills for this purpose in New York, and in 1915 proposed an amendment to the Constitutional Convention of that State. Officials of this character are now employed in several Western cities.

A Brief History of Panics and Their Periodical Occurrence in the United States. By Clement Juglar. Translated and edited by De Courcy W. Thom. Putnam's. 189 pp. \$1.

In this third edition the history of panics, as translated from the French, is brought down from the year 1889 to date, by Mr. De Courcy W. Thom.

The Meaning of Money. By Hartley Withers. Dutton. 307 pp. \$1.25.

A new edition, revised in the light of occurrences since the outbreak of the war.

Commercial Mortmain: A Study of the Trust Problem. By John R. Dos Passos. The Bench and Bar Company. 101 pp. \$1.25.

An authority on American corporation law here reviews the efforts made by the national Government to regulate and control the trusts, and concludes that if the Sherman Act and kindred enactments are not repealed they will eventually cease to be enforced.

Thrift. By Bolton Hall. Huebsch. 247 pp. \$1.
Mr. Hall will be remembered as the author of "Three Acres and Liberty," a book that hastened

the "back to the land" movement. "Thrift" is not a skimp and stingy sermon; it is a philosophical panacea for intelligent persons who want to be good as well as happy and prosperous and who find it inconvenient to be poor. The chapters advise as to personal efficiency, economical economizing, saving, investments, national and community wastage, etc. The best chapter preaches "thrift in happiness," and points the way to love without possession and to joy that is not dependent upon material success. The real thrift is in "giving and thereby getting as much happiness as possible."

State Government in the United States. By Arthur N. Holcombe (Harvard). Macmillan. 498 pp. \$2.25.

A book that frames an answer to the question, How does the governmental machine in the American State fulfil its functions? by first explaining what those functions are and how they have been developed in accord with changing conditions and then showing how the present needs of our State governments are met, finally considering plans for further reform in administrative structure in the light of present-day practical problems.

Principles of American State Administration. By John Mabry Mathews. 534 pp. \$2.50.

Naturally, any book on American State administration is very largely concerned with the powers and duties of the Governor as the chief executive of the commonwealth. In this volume, however, the author does not overlook other important administrative units, such as State boards and commissions, and heads of State departments elected by the people. There is detailed discussion of taxation and finance, education, charities and corrections, public health, and the administration of justice. The concluding chapter is devoted to proposals for the reorganization of State administration. The entire work will be found helpful to legislative committees and other bodies interested in making the executive arms of our States more efficient.

Sixty Years of American Life: Taylor to Roosevelt, 1850 to 1910. By Everett P. Wheeler. Dutton. 489 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Mr. Wheeler, who is a public-spirited New York lawyer, has had direct personal relationship with movements undertaken for the reform of the tariff, the civil service, the currency, and municipal government during the past forty years. He was one of the framers of the national civil-service law of 1883, was president of the New York Civil Service Reform Association, and one of the founders of the Citizens' Union, of New York City, which for many years played an important part in securing improved municipal government. In the present volume Mr. Wheeler has incorporated much correspondence and other data relating to various reform movements with which he has been associated. A great deal of this material is not otherwise accessible to the general reader.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

The War of Democracy. The Allies' Statement. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page. 440 pp. Ill. \$2.

A series of brief chapters on the fundamental issues of the war, prepared by leading publicists of England and France. Among the British contributors are Lord Bryce, Professor Gilbert Murray, Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, the Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, and Sir Edward Grey. The value of small states, the freedom of the seas, neutral nations and the war, and the violation of the neutrality of Belgium are among the topics treated in this authoritative work.

My Second Year of the War. By Frederick Palmer. Dodd, Mead. 404 pp. \$1.50.

This second volume of Mr. Palmer's war experiences is almost wholly devoted to narration, and only slightly concerned with the causes and sequence of events. All the important developments of the year on the French front came under Mr. Palmer's eye. He has won a world-wide reputation for the vividness and accuracy of his descriptions. In the chapters on the behavior of the Canadian troops and the operation of the "tanks" Mr. Palmer is at his best.

Italy, France and Britain at War. By H. G. Wells. Macmillan. 285 pp. \$1.50.

In this book Mr. Wells tells what he saw in a tour of the battle-fronts of Europe, made during the latter half of 1916. He describes conditions as he found them in the different countries and gives some of his latest impressions and conclusions on the probable duration of the war.

A Student in Arms. By Donald Hankey. Introduction by J. St. Loe Strachey. Dutton. 290 pp. \$1.50.

Brilliant essays by a young Englishman who was killed in action on the western front on October 26, 1916. These articles appeared originally in the pages of the London *Spectator*.

"The Red Watch." By Colonel J. A. Currie, M. P. Dutton. 294 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The story of the First Canadian Division's adventures in Flanders. The "Red Watch" is the term applied to the 48th Highlanders. After the battle of Langemarck only 212 out of the 1034 members of this regiment responded to the muster call.

Great Britain's Part. By Paul D. Cravath. Appleton. 127 pp. \$1.

Last August Mr. Cravath, after devoting a month to the study of war conditions in England, was permitted to visit general British headquarters in France. This little book tells in a simple, direct way what this American lawyer found out about the supply and subsistence departments of the army, as well as the more spectacular features of warfare as now conducted on the Western

front. In short, it was the "business end" of military administration (frequently neglected by field correspondents) that appealed especially to Mr. Cravath's interest. His account of the business-like methods by which a modern battle is fought makes good reading.

War Phases According to Maria. By Mrs. John Lane. Illustrated by A. H. Fish. Lane. 195 pp. Ill. \$1.

A new instalment of criticisms by the author of "According to Maria." Clever drawings of A. H. Fish add much to the enjoyment of the book.

Bullets and Billets. By Bruce Bairnsfather. Putnam's. 286 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Brilliant notes and drawings of army life by a British captain.

Alsace-Lorraine. By David Starr Jordan. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 114 pp. \$1.

About every angle of the complicated Alsace-Lorraine problem seems to be presented in this little book. Dr. Jordan tells us not only what the French and Germans, respectively, thought about Alsace-Lorraine before the war, but something that is more important, what the people of the provinces themselves thought. All of the material on which Dr. Jordan bases his conclusions was obtained by him in a personal investigation made during the year 1913.

Via Pacis: How Terms of Peace Can be Prepared. By Harold F. McCormick. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 45 pp. 60 cents.

Mr. McCormick's plan involves the careful working out of peace terms while the war is going on. He points out the advantage that would accrue to both sides from pursuing such a course instead of leaving everything to the restricted time that would be granted for final negotiations. By following his method there would be a monthly interchange of terms between the belligerents.

From Dartmouth to the Dardanelles. A Midshipman's Log. Edited by his mother. 174 pp. Ill. 60 cents.

A cadet at the British naval college at Dartmouth was drawn into the Dardanelles expedition somewhat as the Annapolis midshipmen of Admiral Dewey's day "joined ships" for the Civil War. The simple journal of his adventures has been edited by his mother.

Getting Together. By Ian Hay. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co.; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin. 91 pp. 50 cents.

This little book comprises an interchange of views between an American and a Briton of questions relating to the blockade, the opening of American mails, possible American intervention, and the submarine menace.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—THE LOANS OF THE UNITED STATES

THOSE of humblest circumstances in Europe are nowadays holders of government loans. The French "rentier" has long been known to be unique as the buyer of the smallest bits of government paper, but in the subscription to the last English "Victory" loan the numerical importance of subscribers of \$15 and under was very great. In Canada participation in denominations of \$10 has been popular since the plan was inaugurated a few months ago. We may be sure that the French storekeeper or peasant is still "doing his bit" when new financial appeals are made and adding to his portfolio in 50- and 100-franc lots. And so are the German and Italian, both thrifty and not too proud to take a share in the government business, however small this share may be.

With large loans by the United States Government imminent and the country likely to abandon its policies of raising its full budget of revenues by duties and taxes, it becomes of interest to estimate the extent to which a popular loan would now be taken by the wealthiest nation in the world.

A government loan is successful in war time in ratio to the patriotism of a people. The rate of interest, the offered price, and the terms of conversion are secondary factors. An individual subscribes to a loan in the same spirit of giving support or accepting sacrifice as when he presents his physical self to the cause, knowing how it may be depreciated through maiming and wounding and its earning ability permanently rendered low. If there is some doubt to-day whether \$500,000,000 of United States bonds could be sold at par with the rate only 3 per cent. it is because the quality of American patriotism has been misjudged and underestimated. It should not have been after the unity of expression following each important political development of the past month.

During the Civil War there were two popular government loans. The first was in 1862, when an issue of \$514,771,600 6 per cent. bonds sold at par in currency. About three years later what was known as the seven-thirty per cent. three-year loan was placed in the amount of \$830,000,000. This

was a test of the patriotism of the people, for the market was flooded with government paper. It was patriotism that won. Again in 1898 during the Spanish War the investors of the country were called upon to support the government and they seven times over-subscribed an issue of 3s of about \$200,000,000. These bonds mature on August 1 next year. There was no such crisis then as now faces the United States, and the war came close on the heels of the leanest period of business and profits that had been known in twenty-five years.

In spite of this the American public put in its bid for \$1,400,000,000 bonds on which the return was only 3 per cent., or 1 per cent. less than the average savings-bank deposit. At that time the total deposits of national and State banks, savings and private banks were about \$6,000,000,000. To-day, as nearly as can be estimated, they are close to \$14,000,000,000. The potential possibilities of a new loan are unlimited. The unknown factor is the effect of the high rates of income available in the foreign government bonds, which yield an average twice as high as could be expected from a national issue, and which are coming along in an unending flood month after month. A high authority in United States bonds has recently stated that a $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. return would draw out fully \$1,000,000,000. Possibly this is too optimistic. The present debt of the country is scarcely that amount. England, after two and a half years of war, with \$12,000,000,000 added to her national debt, was able to subscribe in February to \$5,000,000,000 bonds, of which all but about 10 per cent. were taken up with cash, or new money.

It is quite obvious that the United States will have to be a large borrower for the remainder of this year and possibly for several years to come. We have passed the day of a national debt the size of which makes favorable comparison with that of the city of New York. Whether we go to war or not, we must prepare for war, and that is an expensive undertaking. The question that is framing itself in the minds of students of government revenue policies is that of loans

versus taxation. The issue is different under varying conditions. In a war period certain industrial corporations make excessive profits. They are beneficiaries of war. We have some in this country that have shown as high as 225 per cent. realized on their common stocks. Others have made 100 per cent., a great many 50 to 60 per cent., and scores 30 to 40 per cent.

The present excess profits tax is moderate in its application to such earnings. It was framed for a peace and not for a war period. It antedated in its inception the prospect of active hostilities against Germany. With war actual some such taxing power as the British Government exercises might be given. This is realizing an enormous amount each week from excess profits of all sorts of undertakings. In the shipping business the tax has been regarded as almost confiscatory, but after paying it ship-owners, prior to the last submarine outbreak, were able to declare dividends that dazzled their shareholders. The amount of money that could be raised for government defense, should this country go to war and manufacturing returns be levied on, would reach staggering proportions. And it is right that this manner of paying for debts related to the destruction of war should be imposed strongly where the financial gains of war are prominent. Instead of raising \$225,000,000 in one year we could produce \$500,000,000 and no one would suffer.

The danger facing the United States is its high credit. It will be easy to borrow, and when this condition is apparent to the individual, corporation, or nation it is usually made effective. It will be argued that if \$1,000,000,000 can be secured at 3½ per cent. even this imposes an annual interest charge of only \$35,000,000, or about half the income-tax paid by New York City alone, and that spread over the entire taxable population, the individual sacrifice would be

small. This is the easy way. Rather than have to meet the service of a debt by new taxation it is better to avoid putting the burden of debt on future generations by taxing as you go. There will not then be so much scandal to be aired of contracts awarded at fancy rates because the supply of government funds with which to pay was abundant and the reservoirs of capital easily opened.

The credit of the United States has not had a fair test in many years as the price of government bonds has been regulated largely by the circulation value to banks which were the main buyers. Of the total "governments" outstanding approximately 75 per cent. are owned by national banks or by the Federal Reserve banks to secure circulation. The three issues that are most widely held by the public are the 4s of 1925, of which the banks own less than 25 per cent., the 3s of 1908 (Spanish war issue) of which 30 per cent. are held by institutions, and the Panama 3s of 1961. Of the last-named \$10,608,000 of a total of \$50,000,000 are availed of for circulation purposes.

Henceforth United States bonds will have to stand on their merit as the circulation privilege has been withdrawn from new issues. The profit that a bank could make from its bond-secured circulation permitted it to pay a premium of several points for a 2 per cent. interest-bearing security which the private investor might not appraise higher than 70 or 75. The element of exemption from the income-tax, however, places a premium on the government bond which amounts to a considerable portion of 1 per cent. where the maximum sur-taxes are to be paid. There has not so far been an expression on the part of those taxable for income of what they will pay or in what amount they will subscribe for an issue based on government credit that escapes the taxpayer's net.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 831 BONDS FOR INCOME—INVESTMENT TERMS

I would be pleased to receive your valued opinion as to what I should purchase in order to invest some funds I now have available to obtain the best rate of income with the "safety first" clause attached. I have written to a number of investment houses and, of course, they suggest bonds of railroads, public utility companies and industrials, in addition to preferred stocks. But as I am inexperienced in matters of this kind, I find I am still at sea. Any suggestions that you might offer would be appreciated. I would also be pleased to have you explain the meaning of the following terms as applied to bonds:

Registered, refunding, debenture, coupon, convertible, collateral trust.

In a general investment situation like the one now existing, we think about the best opportunities for the safe employment of funds at a satisfactory rate of net income are to be found among the better class of public utility bonds—the first-mortgage issues of companies of well-established earning power, or preferably issues underlying some of the older and better established holding

companies. In this class of bonds, it is possible nowadays to get a pretty high average degree of underlying security along with an average net income yield of somewhere in the neighborhood of 5½ per cent. To illustrate in a very general way the class of bonds we have in mind, we mention issues like the Topeka Railway & Light first and refunding 5s, due in 1934, and the Tri-City Railway & Light first and refunding 5s, due in 1930. There are, of course, a good many others of about the same characteristics and quality—probably a number among the issues that have been suggested to you by the investment banking houses to which you say you have already written about your investment problem.

To give you brief explanations of the various terms you mention:

A bond is said to be "registered" when the name of the holder is recorded on the books of the issuing corporation. Bonds may be registered as to principal or interest, or both. As the case may be, they are payable only to the person in whose name they stand on the corporation's books. Such bonds are distinguished in this respect from "coupon" bonds, which get their name from the fact that they have attached to them small certificates, or coupons, representing each instalment of interest as it becomes due and payable. To collect interest on such bonds it is necessary only to cut off the proper coupon and present it at one's bank for collection, whereas interest on registered bonds is paid by check sent directly from the offices of the issuing corporations. It follows from the ease with which interest on coupon bonds is collectible that such issues are usually good in the hands of any holder, no formal transfer of ownership being necessary in connection with them. A refunding bond issue is one that is created and sold for the purpose of paying off or making provision for paying off older issues of securities. There is, by the way, little significance in this term, as indicating the fundamental security of a bond. A debenture bond is one that is not secured by property of any kind, but is merely a promise to pay, based upon the credit of the issuing corporation. A convertible bond is one containing provision for its conversion on definitely prescribed terms into other securities—usually those of the same corporation, and in most cases into either the preferred or common stock. A collateral trust bond is one whose security consists not of tangible property, but of other stocks or bonds, or both stocks and bonds.

No. 832 OIL STOCKS

Please tell me what you think of the new oil stocks for the investment of a thousand dollars or so.

Your inquiry is hardly specific enough to enable us to answer in a very helpful way. As a general proposition, however, even granting that you have in mind the stocks of honest, legitimate companies, as distinguished from the scores of new oil flotations of dishonest, illegitimate character, we do not hesitate to say that, if you are not prepared to assume a considerable amount of business risk, this class of stocks affords few, if any, opportunities for you. The oil and gas industry, to be sure, has been enjoying, for the last year or more, a period of rather unprecedented prosperity, and a situation has been created in

which it has been possible to bring into production a good many properties that could not previously be operated profitably. Most of the companies that have been able to make any showing at all in the matter of production have been reporting large earnings, relatively, and for the most part, they have been more or less liberal with their shareholders. But it seems to us that sooner or later a readjustment must come about in the industry, and we should not be surprised to see something approaching collapse among the securities of the smaller concerns, less strongly entrenched financially. It follows from a situation of this kind, that the purchase of even apparently well-established issues of this category ought not to be undertaken by one whose financial resources were not fairly large, and who was not in position to keep in pretty close personal touch all of the time with developments in the affairs of the corporations whose shares he held, and with general market conditions.

No. 833 ROCK ISLAND REFUNDING FOURS

Will you kindly give me your opinion of Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway first and refunding 4s, due April 1, 1934, now selling about 75. I am given to understand that this issue did not participate in the refinancing of the property in question, that it never defaulted its interest, but that it is now selling on what might be called "receivership price" below its intrinsic merit, and that it is therefore to be recommended as a thoroughly conservative investment.

You are quite correct in your understanding that, in the reorganization of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific it is not proposed to change the status of the first and refunding 4 per cent. bonds in any way. It is also true that during all of the difficulties of the Rock Island, interest was paid regularly on these bonds. At the current market price, we ourselves are inclined to think these bonds are selling somewhat below their real value as investments to hold for income purposes, but notwithstanding this, we should not be inclined to recommend them as "a thoroughly conservative investment," as they appear to have been recommended to you. There are elements of weakness in the bonds which seem to us to take them pretty definitely out of the conservative class, but at the same time we do not see any indications but that they are likely to work out all right in the end.

No. 834 AMERICAN GAS AND ELECTRIC DEBENTURES

I would appreciate your opinion of American Gas & Electric 6 per cent. bonds.

We suppose you mean the 6 per cent. debenture bonds due in 1914. These debentures are, in our opinion, a good investment of their kind. By reason of the fact that they are not secured by mortgage, and also the fact that they have such a very long time to run to maturity, it seems to us that they have to be looked upon as securities partaking rather more of the nature of a priority stock. But they are the direct obligations of a big, well-established company, have some strong underlying equities, and are backed up by large and growing earning power. We believe they ought to prove satisfactory in all respects to hold for income purposes. They might, in fact, as time goes on, show more or less growth in market value.